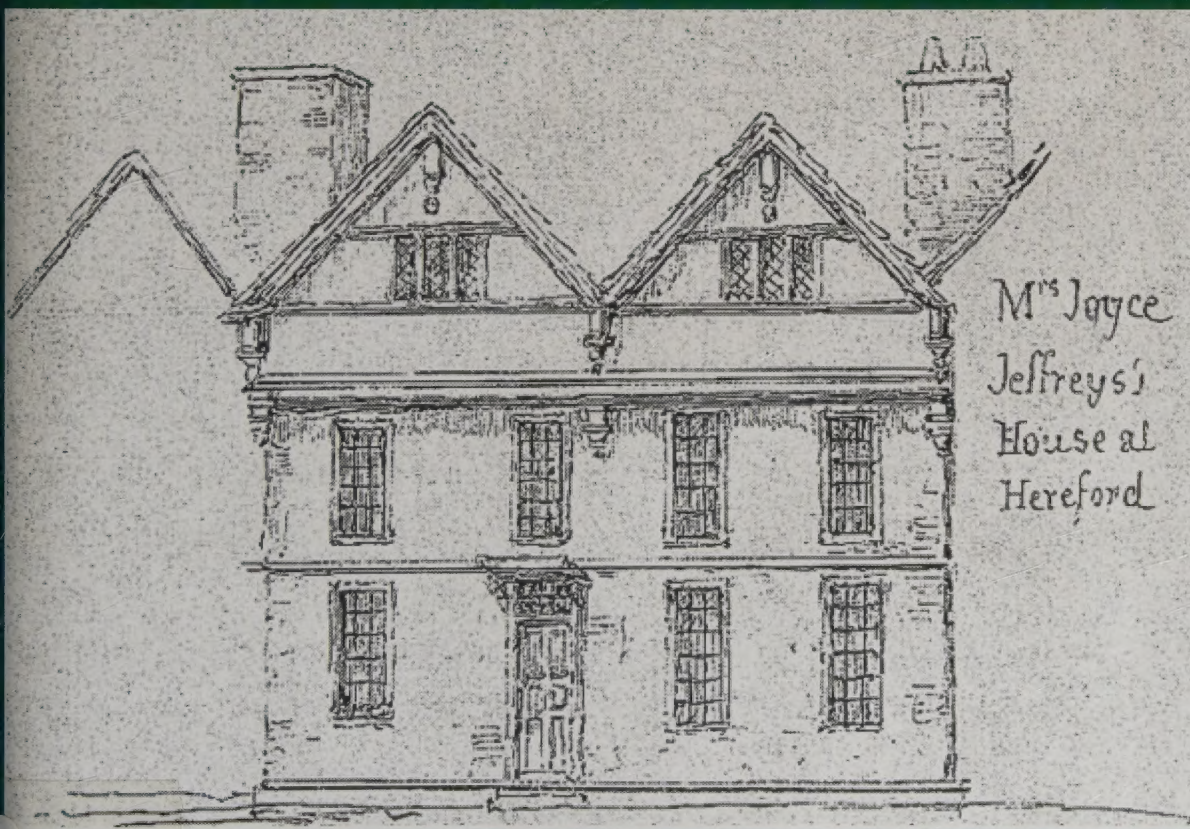


The Business and Household Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys

Spinster of Hereford
1638–1648



EDITED BY JUDITH M. SPICKSLEY

The accounts of Joyce Jeffreys offer a rare opportunity to enter the social world of the early modern spinster — her daily life, personal circumstances, social activities and family relationships are all reflected through the entries in her manuscript. The accounts also reveal extensive evidence of Joyce's business dealings, most prominently as a moneylender in and around the Hereford and Worcestershire region, but also as a farmer, market gardener, landholder, and horse and livestock dealer.

The receipts section includes considerable detail about her loan arrangements and provides evidence of rental and other income. The disbursements section offers a wealth of information on contemporary expenses, including the cost of wages, food, drinks, clothing, textiles, medicines and medical care, the training and care of horses, and even stud fees. Further entries relate to amounts paid out in the form of gifts and gratuities, litigation fees, local and national assessments, and church dues.

Joyce Jeffreys appears at the centre of a large, vibrant kinship network. Her business dealings extended beyond county boundaries as far as London and she travelled regularly to visit relatives and friends, to listen to lectures, and to attend social events. Royalist by inclination, Joyce decided to abandon Hereford before the arrival of the Parliamentary army and the social as well as economic costs of the early civil wars are a further feature of her accounts.

Published in their entirety for the first time, these accounts reveal that Joyce Jeffreys was not as culturally or intellectually isolated as much of the historiography of spinsterhood would have us believe.

Judith M. Spicksley is a Teaching Fellow in the Department of Economics and Related Studies at the University of York.

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THE BUSINESS AND HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS OF
JOYCE JEFFREYS, SPINSTER OF HEREFORD
1638–1648

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Dedicated to the memory of my mother and father,
Wendy Sophia and George Cook



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1644

Hertford Disbursements. and els when

January

gave Ben Jons, the baker, 2⁶ L. George Jons, 1⁶ 3⁶
 gave Jack Jons, 6⁹ and Dick Jons, 6⁹ 3⁶
 gave my beloved Godson, and Nephew Henry Jons, 2⁶ 6⁹
 gave Jack Robins, 2⁶ 6⁹ L. my rosin brownes
 man of Greenyoad, brought me olive & rapins, 6⁹
 gave James mazarich for killing a fox, 6⁹
 gave Dick Jons, my boy of Goodward, 3⁶
 gave Mary the, daily, of the brooms, 6⁹
 gave William Ingram, when he caught
 a salmon, in Leam at Hornwells, 2⁶ 6⁹
 gave my maide Jesse Simons for a new smock, 7⁶
 gave for aquatics Dick, for my self, and Joss, 4⁶ 6⁹
 Simons, due January 10, 1644, 7⁶ 10⁹
 for a new smock, of George Narroth's making, 6⁹
 gave Francis Smith of Leominster, brought a new
 from William Gifford of Warton, 6⁹
 gave Mrs Anne Baway, at Hornwells, she brought
 me a silk, and a cloth, with a cloth, a silver, 1⁶
 gave our Alice, brought a cloth, she, 1⁶
 brought me a cloth, of soft shugger, to Hornwells, 1⁶
 gave Barbara, brought a cloth, when she went away from
 Hornwells to her mother, dwelling in Wymore, 1⁶
 to John Jons, of Wymore, for making me a new
 here, and, pulling a piece of bingse, on, 1⁶
 for 2⁶ quater of raw paper, & figures a pound, 1⁶
 his disbursements at Deadward and else where
 in November, December, & January 1644, 1⁶
 paid our Francis Goss, of Goss, 6⁹ months
 Joss, for 2⁶ being paid of his chamber in law, 10⁹
 position, due to him, January 17, 1644, 10⁹
 paid our Dick, Calwall, of Wychen, 6⁹ months, &
 Joss, for 100⁹ Joss, for the same position, 4⁶
 due January 17, 1644, 4⁶
 paid John Collins of Lido, 6⁹ months Joss, for, 3⁶ 9⁹
 the same occasion Joss, due January 17, 1644, 3⁶ 9⁹
 Joss, I owe him, 3⁶ 9⁹
 paid Richs Dewell, sader in Hertford for mending, 11⁶ 9⁹
 my coach, & harness, & warming, 11⁶ 9⁹
 paid for mending, & warming, 11⁶ 9⁹
 my god daughter Elizabeth Geers, 11⁶ 9⁹
 paid for daubing, and mending the walls, about
 willard Effans, house when I delivered it up to
 Harry Egan, 2 workman found, 3⁶ loads of clove in all
 I allowed Mathias Rufford for divers Josses, in Kidings, 12⁶
 about to take money of my sisters, but like can in
 Hertford gave John Pittel, at several tymes, to please him for
 walking at the gate, wall, & windmarch, 1⁶
 in Ludo spent at the delight of the 1⁶ the rect, of m. Barrell, 2⁶
 compost paid for carrying in all 1⁶ much out of Effans garden, 1⁶
 into my greater garden, but when 1⁶ out, much in Holops, 1⁶
 paid Susan Ward, one of Deadward, for a pair of, 1⁶
 white woollen stockings for my self, 2⁶ a little yam more, 1⁶
 given to a young Joss, of Wymore, the two Josses, went, 1⁶
 for the 1⁶ Joss, Lido, due at m. Barrell, 1644, 1⁶
 January for 1⁶ and Joss, of red silk ribbon, for the 1⁶
 also, 2⁶ 8⁶ 1⁶ Lido Cast.

RECORDS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY
NEW SERIES 41

THE BUSINESS AND
HOUSEHOLD ACCOUNTS
OF JOYCE JEFFREYS
SPINSTER OF HEREFORD
1638–1648

EDITED BY
JUDITH M. SPICKSLEY

Published for THE BRITISH ACADEMY
by OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP

Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi

Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi

New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece

Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore

South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Published in the United States

by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

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First published 2012

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Data available

Typeset by New Leaf Design, Scarborough, North Yorkshire

Printed in Great Britain

on acid-free paper by

CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire, UK

ISBN 978-0-19-726432-4

Foreword

The series of Records of Social and Economic History includes some documents which cover a large geographical area, even the whole country, as in the recent volume of Diocesan Population Returns for 1563 and 1603. Some of the documents that we publish, however, relate to a particular place and were produced by an individual. Such documents, which include accounts, journals and letters, are worthy of publication in the series because they throw lights on the activities, practices or attitudes of a whole period or group of people. Personal account books are not very common in the mid seventeenth century, so the book kept by Joyce Jeffreys is in itself a rare and valuable survival. It is, however, especially remarkable because it was kept by a woman, and extends beyond the household matters which we are accustomed to find, and reveals much about her business life. As well as making domestic purchases and paying servants' wages, Joyce Jeffreys managed a farm, but devoted much of her capital to money lending. We have always known about the importance of credit in the economy, before as well as during the period of industrialisation, but our information often consists of little more than the names of lenders and borrowers and the sums owed in inventories or court cases. In this account book we can find out about the loans, the creditors, the interest payments, the length of the term and the ultimate repayment of the loan. Historians interested in the credit market everywhere will find useful insights in these accounts, as will those also who work on such themes as religion and the disruptions caused by the Civil War. All of this is set in Hereford and the villages around, which is a little studied part of England, but is revealed here as a complex society with its own special characteristics.

We are all grateful to Dr Spicksley who has devoted so much time and scholarship to the preparation of this text for publication. Because of her work Jeffreys can join that select band of seventeenth-century individuals—such as Loder, Josselyn and Pepys—whose personal writings tell us so much about the society and economy of that period.

November 2008

Christopher Dyer
Chairman,

Records of Social and Economic History Committee

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Facsimile of f. 60v from the disbursements section of Joyce Jeffreys' accounts (© The British Library)

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5. Clifton upon Teme church, c. 1860s. The Antiquarian Notebook of Henry Jeffreys, 1695–1709 (Worcester Record Office, BA 13115)
6. a. All Saints' church, Hereford, c. 1680s. T. Dingley, *History from Marble* [Volume I] (1867), (© The British Library)
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Acknowledgements

Without the financial assistance of the Economic and Social Research Council of Great Britain, who granted me a three-year research fellowship in 2001, preparing this edition of Joyce Jeffreys' accounts for publication would not have been possible. I am moreover, deeply indebted to the British Library, for granting me permission to publish Joyce's accounts and to Herefordshire Archive Service, the Bishop of Hereford, the incumbent of All Saints' Church, Hereford, the unnamed depositor of the document collection A63/VIII/1-138 and Worcester Record Office, for permission to publish extracts from manuscript documents in their possession.

Preparing Joyce's accounts for publication has been an illuminating as well as an enjoyable experience, but it would have been much less pleasurable without the interest, support and encouragement of a great many individuals. I have been repeatedly uplifted by the generosity of people both within and outside the field of history who have been willing to share with me their knowledge of the Hereford area in particular, and of early modern England more generally. I must especially thank Craig Muldrew, who read the entire manuscript and suggested a number of valuable improvements, but the following people also made significant contributions at various stages in the project: Charles Hopkinson; Beverly Lemire; Robert Tittler; Mandy Capern; and Mike Turner.

A special vote of thanks must also go to the Archivist and staff at Herefordshire Archive Service and at Worcester Record Office, who have fielded my numerous questions with speed and efficiency, and to the staff at Hampton Court Estate, Hope under Dinmore, Herefordshire, who helped me uncover the history of the house. My husband, Phil, took time off work to chauffeur me around Joyce's numerous haunts, and the photographs of Hampton Court and Ham Castle that appear in the volume were taken by him.

For the opportunity to publish Joyce's accounts, I am especially grateful to the British Academy. Michael (F.M.L.) Thompson responded positively and with charm to an unknown writer, and Joanna Innes not only gave freely of her time and expertise, but also remained a patient and supportive supervisor to a publishing novice during what turned out to be a rather protracted preparation process; Brigid Hamilton-Jones was immensely patient and helpful in finally bringing the manuscript to publication.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to Alex Shepard, who not only allowed me, but encouraged me, to continue working on Joyce's accounts

while I was employed on the 'Perceptions of worth and social status in early modern England' project. Her support and friendship have been invaluable.

I have discussed Joyce's accounts with a great many people since work on this edition began, and their comments and insights have greatly improved the final result. Any mistakes that remain, however, are entirely my own.

Judith M. Spicksley

December, 2011

List of Abbreviated References

BI	Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York
BL	British Library
CCC	Canterbury Cathedral Archives
FRC	Family Record Centre, London
HAS	Herefordshire Archive Service
LA	Lincoln Archives
NA	National Archives
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
WLHM	Wellcome Library for the History of Medicine

Editorial Method and Commentary on the Text

In setting out to edit Joyce's accounts, I had two distinct aims in mind: to preserve as far as possible the look and feel of the original document; yet at the same time to make the text comprehensible to as wide a range of readers as the material might interest. However, finding an appropriate balance between faithfully transcribing the manuscript and making the text easily accessible has called for a considerable number of editorial decisions that will not delight every reader. In order to retain the look and feel of the original manuscript I decided at the outset to adopt a tabularised system of editing, and keep the original spelling. Standardisation of the English language was proceeding hand in hand with an expansion in printing and a rise in literacy during the early modern period, but the pace was slow until the late seventeenth century.¹ Thus while there was less variation in seventeenth century letters and diaries than had been the case in their Elizabethan predecessors, considerable idiosyncrasy remained. Spelling was much less uniform in private documents than in printed books and more especially in women's writing.² In order to assist readers unfamiliar with early modern spelling practices to understand the text, I have included with the glossary a brief discussion of Joyce's most common orthographic forms. However, while I have retained the original spelling and layout of the manuscript, my desire to improve the accessibility of the text has caused me to move beyond the more usual semi-diplomatic transcription and make the changes described in detail below. I have tried to compensate for this at least in part by incorporating a discussion of some of the characteristics of the manuscript—within the context of developments in the English language—but students of early modern linguistics, and others with an especial interest in this area, are recommended to consult the manuscript in the British Library.

In editing the manuscript I decided in the first instance to adopt a modern system of capitalisation, beginning each new entry with a capital letter, and introducing capitals at the start of names, places and feast days. Occasionally the position a man occupied was included as part of his name, as in

¹ G. E. Dawson and L. Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London, 1966), 16.

² C. Barber, *Early Modern English* (London 1976), 60, 16. M. Görlach, *Introduction to Early Modern English* (Cambridge, 1991), 48; for spelling reformers see also 50–5.

'Mr Maior, James Barroll', for example, and in these circumstances I have capitalised the first letter of the position as well as the name. The use of capital letters often appears arbitrary in the original text, although this can be explained to a large extent by reference to contemporary developments. Between 1593 and 1623 it seems that capitalisation was extended from its link at the former date with certain categories of nouns only, to include any form of noun, adjective or verb by the latter.³ I have also replaced Joyce's use of the double lower case 'ff' at the beginning of a word—employed to indicate a capital 'F'—with the capital itself.

Secondly, though Joyce did add some punctuation to the manuscript, I have re-punctuated the entire transcription, in order to make the entries in the diary as unambiguous as possible. Five types of punctuation actually appear in the text: hyphens; colons; parentheses; commas; and periods or full stops. The latter three occur rarely, probably because the manuscript emerges as a set of accounts rather than a diary or correspondence, and there are no examples of semi-colons, despite the fact that they had been introduced between 1580 and 1590. But Joyce appears to have been particularly fond of colons. Prior to the introduction of the semi-colon, the colon had been utilised to indicate a pause, but it was reinterpreted in the sixteenth century to denote some logical progression or contrary information.⁴ Joyce used colons in her writing for several stylistic purposes: in the curtailment of fore-names for example; after numbers and dates; to represent a logical progression; and to separate parts of the entry. In addition, she occasionally replaced a colon with a dash or hyphen, especially where pounds sterling were concerned.

Thirdly I have replaced the inter-changeability of the characters *u* and *v*, and those of *i* and *j*, with the standard current modern uses of these letters (*u* and *i* as vowels and *v* and *j* as consonants). Originally *u* and *v* were different ways of writing the same letter, but in late Middle English it became the norm to use *v* when it appeared at the beginning of a word and *u* elsewhere. This was often the format adopted in the printed literature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, despite the fact that both *u* and *v* could represent either a vowel or a consonant, and it was not until after 1630 that *u* and *v* were used phonetically.⁵ Joyce adopted the Middle English position insofar as she used *v* for all words beginning with either *u* or *v*, but was less consistent about internal examples. The fact that she more commonly used *v* than *u* in the middle of words when a consonant was required, however, is indicative of the transitional status of her understanding during the period of the

³ Görlach, *Introduction*, 49.

⁴ *ibid.*, 58.

⁵ Barber, *Early Modern English*, 16; Görlach, *Introduction*, 45.

manuscript's construction. This situation is further reflected in her chronological progression towards an increasingly fixed modern employment of these characters. However, Joyce did remain consistent in retaining the interchangeability of *i* and *j*. As in the case of *v* and *u*, the letter *j* had initially been a different form of the letter *i*. Through the sixteenth century many printers' fonts included only the single capital form *I*, but by the second quarter of the seventeenth century the use of *i* as a vowel and *j* as a consonant had entered writing practice in England.⁶ Joyce's continued use of *i* instead of *j* in the late 1630s and 1640s suggests that the progress of this orthographic trend may not have been as rapid as that of its *u* and *v* counterpart, despite its adoption in the printed literature; it must have occurred even later than Görlach anticipated.⁷

Fourthly, for ease of reading I have expanded all abbreviations in the body of the text in accordance with accepted conventions, except for a handful of well-known examples such as *Mr*, *Mrs* and *etc.*⁸ I have also retained *rece* as an abbreviation for *received*, since it occurs in practically every entry of the receipt book. Joyce did not employ a bar or any other marks to indicate this contraction, although to be correct she should have done so (see below). And rather than use the standard abbreviation of an *l* crossed horizontally through (for the Latin *libra*) to signify both the pound avoirdupois and the pound sterling as Joyce did, I have inserted *li* for pounds sterling, and introduced *lb* for measures of weight to avoid confusion. Moreover, I decided to retain abbreviations contained within the marginalia in order to maintain as far as possible the original line format of the manuscript, but only where the context is either clear from, or repeated in, the main body of the text. Abbreviations in the form of contractions, curtailments (or suspensions), brevirgraphs and superscript were a common feature of writing during the early modern period, and Joyce's manuscript is no exception. Most contractions and curtailments were signalled by the appearance of a bar, known as a tittle or tilde, which in contractions was placed over the whole word in the case of large omissions, or above the previous letter where only a single miniscule, or lower case letter, was missing. In the case of curtailments the final *e*

⁶Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting*, 14.

⁷Barber suggests around 1630 for this shift, while Görlach dates it to between 1630 and 1640; Barber, *Early Modern English*, 16; Görlach, *Introduction*, 45. The scribe writing Joyce's will in 1648 shows similar tendencies to her own: a modern use of *v* and *u*, but a continuing interchangeability in the employment of *i* and *j*. See FRO, PROB 11/24, Joyce Jefferies.

⁸I have used the recommendations laid down in A. G. Petti, *English literary hands from Chaucer to Dryden* (London, 1977). The only exceptions to this are Joyce's occasional apparent arbitrary use of the tilde, in which cases I have rendered the spelling that can be most easily identified, and her nephew's use of numbers for autumnal months of the year, which I have explained alongside in square brackets.

was most often absent, but a bar over a vowel usually pointed to the omission of an *m* or an *n*, as in *frō* (from) and *upō* (upon), or of name endings, of which *Thō* for *Thomas* was the most frequent. Joyce also used another form of the tittle, an upward and backward sloping curve from the last written miniscule, in writing abbreviated forms of the months from September to December (which resulted in the omission of the final three letters—*ber*—from the month in question). In addition, she occasionally adopted the horizontal crossing through of the double *l* to signal a missing *e*, rather than the tittle.

Like her contemporaries, Joyce adopted the use of certain brevigraphs or symbols in her writing. In the course of her text, she employed a vertical elongated *w* rather like the Greek Σ to stand for *ir*, for example; the *y* or runic thorn replaced *th*; a hybrid version of the secretary/italic ampersand signalled a missing *and*; and she used a *p* with a bar through the stem (\bar{p}) to represent *per* or *par*.⁹ Superscript—used to indicate the omission of at least one letter immediately before it—was another abbreviatory technique that became fashionable during the sixteenth century, when it was commonly utilised for forms of address, possessive and relative pronouns, and a number of prepositions. Examples from Joyce's manuscript include: *M^r*; *M^{rs}*; *S^r* for *Sir*; *y^r* for *your*; *w^{ch}* for *which*; *wth* for *with*; and finally *yⁱ*, meaning either *that* or *it*, depending on the context. Furthermore, Joyce's nephew William adopted the symbol *o* to replace the letters *th* in conjunction with dates, even though Joyce herself did not. The symbol itself formed part of a shorthand technique that developed in popularity during the seventeenth century—it had been used in official records from at least the late sixteenth century—as a number of authors produced instruction manuals in the art of 'short and swift writing'.¹⁰

Though I have made no changes to the grammatical structure of the text, a number of unusual elements call for some brief explanation. For example, in terms of her use of plurals, Joyce demonstrated considerable confusion over the correct rendition. Sometimes she used the terminal *es* to indicate a

⁹The letter *y*, developed from the runic graph *thorn* (*th*), had assumed the role of the *th* by the sixteenth century, and survived well into the seventeenth century. Petti, *English literary hands*, 12.

¹⁰Shorthand was used from the Elizabethan period onwards by lawyers and clerks for case-reports and recording evidence. With the growth of Puritanism, much of its use by the general public was directed towards note-taking during sermons, with Thomas Shelton's shorthand notation, for example, proving extremely popular. Samuel Pepys used the system invented by Shelton, whose first manual appeared in 1626. For the symbol for *th* see T. Shelton, *Tachygraphy: The Most exact and compendious methode of short and swift writing that hath ever yet been published by any* (Cambridge, 1641), 9. R. Latham, ed., *The Illustrated Pepys: Extracts from the Diary* (London, 1979), 13–14. For its use in official records see CCA Canterbury Diocese Probate Court (Archdeaconry and Consistory) Deposition book DCb/PRC 39/18, 1595–96, f. 3v.

plural as in *monethes*; on other occasions she simply added an *s*. But even this was not without difficulty. She added an *s* to the noun only in *gymmlet bits* (crossing out the *s* she had originally written after *gymmlet*) but then added a terminal *s* to both adjective and noun in *apricots trees*, for example. With regard to the use of the definitive article, Joyce occasionally omitted to include one in her phrases; *in the absence of* therefore becomes *in absence of* and *this is truth* replaces the expected *this is the truth*. At other times the verb is missing; *he surety for it* appears instead of *he was surety for it*. She also adopted the older inflection *eth* in a few cases in her manuscript (*oweth* and *maketh*), but this relatively rare usage suggests some familiarity with current linguistic developments. During the seventeenth century the use of this inflection on the third person singular form of the verb went into rapid decline, becoming restricted in most cases to formal applications such as bible translations and official documents.¹¹

Joyce's use of the genitive reflects one of the more conservative aspects of her linguistic practice. Despite the fact that the apostrophe ('*s*) had been in optional use since 1500, Joyce continued to employ two concurrent practices to indicate possession, the use of *his* and the addition of a terminal *s* to indicate ownership, sometimes in italic, and sometimes in secretary hand. This is evident in such phrases as *William Eysham his part* and *James Dudsons money*. Joyce's position in this is not entirely unexpected since the use of '*s* did not become fully established until the last decade of the seventeenth century.¹² But neither did Joyce adopt the use of the possessive pronoun *its*, which had appeared first in early modern English around 1600. Thus a further conservative element of Joyce's writing relates to her use of pronouns. Even though by 1600 the word *it* had largely replaced the older form of the neuter pronoun *hit*, the latter still survives in a number of entries: 'Thanks be to the Lord for hit'; 'ould Mr Dawncer borrowed hit'.¹³ And in another tendency towards conservatism, Joyce similarly employed the pronoun *him* to describe a woman's waistcoat and petticoat.¹⁴ A further unusual grammatical feature, from a modern viewpoint, involves the appearance of the zero relative, or a missed relative pronoun. In current usage it is not uncommon to find relative pronouns missing when the pronoun is the object of the verb (*she gave him the envelope he dropped*), but in Joyce's manuscript, such pronouns were also absent when they were the subject of the verb: 'Gave a wench, brought a letter to Hinton'; and 'Gave John Winnis boy, brought peres'. However, the use of the zero relative was consistent with contemporary

¹¹ Görlach, *Introduction*, 88–9.

¹² *ibid.*, 82.

¹³ Barber, *Early Modern English*, 205–6; ff. 11v, 12.

¹⁴ ff. 52, 61v. Joyce also referred to her kiln on one occasion in the masculine as *he*; f. 36v.

practice, and featured in the work of other early modern writers, perhaps most notably that of William Shakespeare.¹⁵

Finally, in terms of general editorial practice, dates have been retained in their original format—so that the year begins on 25 March, the Feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary—and words have been rendered as they appear, except where to do so would unnecessarily confuse the reader. Joyce occasionally ran words together that we currently would expect to be separate. Thus *ascott*, for instance, has been rendered as *a Scott* and *aload* as *a load* although the more clearly identifiable *wilbe* is retained in its original form. Many prepositions and conjunctions available in the early modern period remain part of current terminology, but where their meaning and usage may not correspond exactly with modern interpretations, explanations have been included in the glossary. In the case of errors or emendations, all deletions—where it is possible to identify the text underneath—have been struck through with a single line. Deletions in which it is not possible to decipher what was originally written are indicated in the text by *[deletion]*. No account has been taken of single letter deletions, and entries added above the line-fillers are indicated in the footnotes. Round brackets have been transferred directly from the manuscript, but square brackets indicate editorial additions. Furthermore, where words have been inserted later above the line of text, the words in question have been enclosed inside arrow symbols (as in >*within*<). Joyce's drawings of a small pointing hand, added to her manuscript on several occasions to draw attention to certain significant entries, have been reproduced in the text in their printed form. Other contemporary authors like Ralph Josselin, the Essex clergyman, utilised this aide-memoir in their writings, and it was also used by court scribes; similar examples appeared in the published material of the period—see for example Gervase Markham, *Cheape and good husbandry* (1648).¹⁶

Joyce wrote her manuscript in an idiosyncratic script that she created by combining the two main early modern stylistic forms—secretary and italic. Secretary style, described as secretary hand by Elizabethan writing masters, and illustrated below, had developed from a cursive script imported into England from France during the reign of Richard II. By the mid-fifteenth century its use was widespread, and it continued to expand during the Tudor period, assisted by the fact that it was routinely taught in schools.¹⁷ A number of variations emerged as the style developed, but by the 1650s secretary hand as a writing format was moving towards extinction. It survived for con-

¹⁵ ff. 27v, 51v; Barber, *Early Modern English*, 220.

¹⁶ A. MacFarlane, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683* (Oxford, 1976); for court records see the allegations for example in BI Archbishop of York's Cause Papers, C.P.H. 1130, 1615, Margaret Barrett c. Jane Robinson, defamation.

¹⁷ Petti, *English literary hands*, 14–18.

siderably longer in a watered down version as a result of being mixed with italic, but by 1700, as a distinct hand, it had disappeared from view.¹⁸

Italic, its challenger, was the distinctive new writing style of the Renaissance. Emerging in response to scholarly dissatisfaction with the angular, elongated minuscules of the medieval gothic script, it did not appear in England until the mid-fifteenth century. Though the testeggiata format illustrated in figure 1 was popular, like its counterpart in secretary hand, italic developed several different styles, one of which—cancellaresca—Elizabeth I practised during her youth.¹⁹

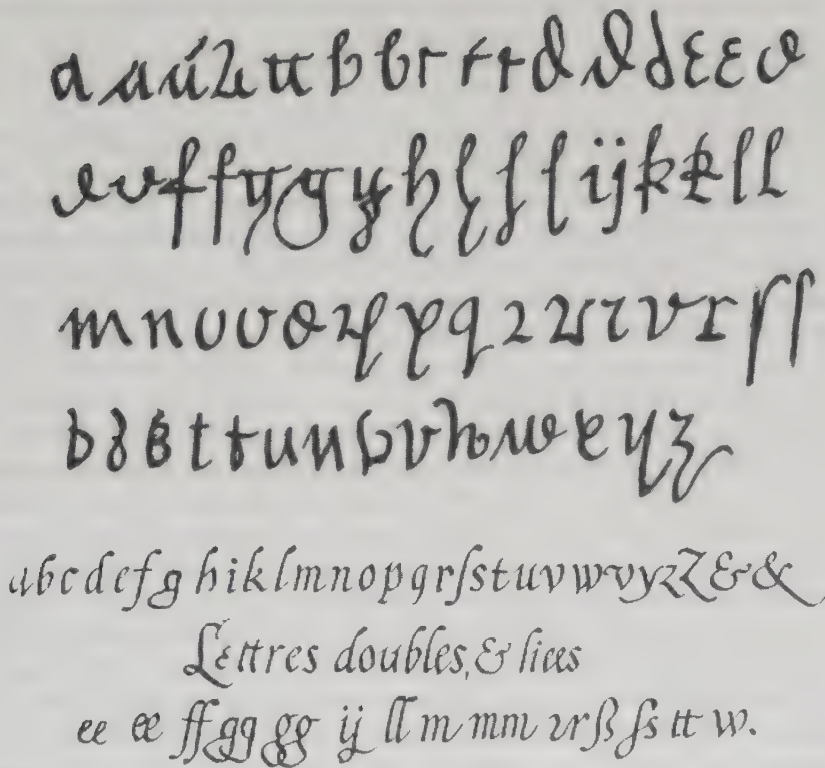


Figure 1. Examples of (top) late 16th-century Elizabethan secretary hand and (bottom) testeggiata italic from 1571.²⁰

¹⁸ Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting*, 9.

¹⁹ Other notable women writing in italic include Katharine Parr (1544), Lady Lucy St. John (1588) and Lady Arabella Stuart (1605). A. Fairbank and B. Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting: An Anthology of Italic Scripts* (London, 1960), examples 29, 54, 56. Scholars at Cambridge who wrote in italic hand included Roger Ascham, Richard Croke and John Becon; all served as public orators. A. Fairbank and B. Dickins, *The Italic Hand in Tudor Cambridge* (1962), 12.

²⁰ Petti, *English literary hands*, 17, fig. 22 and 19, fig. 25.

Her influence may well have been significant. Petti suggests that noble writers, eager to follow royal precedents, often chose to adopt an italic hand for their personal correspondence and signature, even if their clerks continued to use the more traditional form of secretary hand for business matters.²¹ Though secretary hand appears to have remained the predominant script in private written documents until 1630, italic gradually increased its presence from around 1550.²² And though Martin Billingsley could argue in 1618 that secretary hand was ‘the onely usuall hand of England, for dispatching of all manner of businesses for the most part, whatsoever’, he also made reference to the expanding use of italic, which he claimed ‘of late is growne very usuall, and is much affected by divers’; the Roman variant, in particular, was ‘a hand of great account, and of much use in this Realme, especially in the Universities’.²³

Evidence of the mixing of secretary hand and italic letters in one script has been discovered in documents dating from as early as the 1530s, and by the close of the sixteenth century there were many examples. Sir Walter Raleigh and Ben Jonson, for example, were among the more famous literary figures that chose to mix their scripts. But while the earliest mixed examples were dominated by the heavier use of secretary hand letters with a sprinkling of italic, by the middle of the seventeenth century, many more of the characters were being written in an italic format.²⁴ Joyce’s manuscript—written in a slightly forward-sloping rounded italic that incorporates a number of secretary-style letters—therefore offers an excellent and timely example of a mixed writing style.²⁵ Comparisons with the form of writing evident in the surviving accounts of Joyce’s best-known contemporaries—Robert Loder (1589–1640) and Henry Best (d. 1645)—could be taken as evidence of Joyce’s more progressive technique. Both Loder, a yeoman farmer, and Best, who recorded his status as ‘gentleman’ in his will, wrote in styles that were much closer to secretary hand than italic, although William Howard of Naworth Castle, another of her contemporaries, preferred to sign his name at least in the italic style.²⁶ The fact that Joyce was female, however, tends to complicate any neat stylistic comparisons. According to Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, ‘the preference of women (or their teachers) for the italic hand

²¹ Petti, *English literary hands*, 19, fig. 25.

²² Görlach, *Introduction*, 43.

²³ M. Billingsley, *The Pen's Excellencie or The Secretaries Delighte* (1618), C3v; C4.

²⁴ Petti, *English literary hands*, 20.

²⁵ For an example of Joyce’s writing, please see the extract from her manuscript reproduced in the front of this volume.

²⁶ See the facsimile copies of Loder, Best and Howard in their respective volumes: Fussell, ed., *Robert Loder*; Woodward, ed., *Henry Best*; Ornsby, ed., *Selections from the Household Books*.

appears to have been established before 1600', and they claim that the bulk of all the letters written by women that have survived from the late Tudor and early Stuart periods are in italic.²⁷ Surviving household accounts and receipt books from the seventeenth century tend to support this view. Moreover, the earliest in a series of account books belonging to the Le Strange family of Hunstanton in Norfolk—which contains entries written by both Lady Alice and her husband—reveals the striking difference between his more obscure secretary script and her clear italic style.²⁸ It was because italic script was easy to read and could be written quickly, that Billingsley recommend it—especially in its Roman version—for tutors of women:

it is conceived to be the easiest hand that is written with Pen, and to be taught in the shortest time: Therefore it is usually taught to women, for as much as they (having not the patience to take any great paines, besides phantasticall and humorsome) must be taught that which they may instantly learne.²⁹

How and when Joyce learnt to write is not known. Reading was especially prized as a skill for women, since acquiring the ability to read was closely tied to religious instruction, but not all commentators viewed writing as a necessary accomplishment. Some girls clearly received tuition in reading from a very young age, and this may have been accompanied by skills in writing.³⁰ Sir Henry Slingsby noted in his diary in 1638, for example, that his wife 'has so taught her daughter Barbara, who was born 14 May 1633, that she is able already to say all her prayers, answer her catechism, read and write a little'.³¹ Joyce would most probably have taken lessons at home with her half-brother and sister, Humphrey and Katherine Coningsby, or perhaps she attended a local school. Dame or petty schools often provided boys and girls with basic training in literacy and numeracy, endowing boys at least with the skills they would need to transfer to a grammar school. Until the growth of boarding establishments for girls in the seventeenth century, post-elementary education for girls was centred on the household and designed around proficiency in housewifery.³² Entries from the account book of Joyce's grandfather William reveal that he sent his children to be schooled in Worcester. Henry, her father

²⁷ Dawson and Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting*, 12, 10.

²⁸ NRO Lest/P6, Household Account of Receipts and Disbursements by Sir Hamon and Lady Alice Le Strange, 1606–21. Five other volumes exist, all of which were written almost exclusively by Lady Alice—see Lest/P7 to Lest/P11—covering the period up to 1653.

²⁹ Billingsley, *Pen's Excellencie*, C4.

³⁰ S. Mendelson and P. Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720* (Oxford, 1998), 90.

³¹ Cited in K. Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London, 1999), 212.

³² J. Spicksley, 'Two seventeenth-century female "accountants": Joyce Jeffreys and Sarah Fell', *Bulletin of the British Society for the History of Mathematics*, 6 (2005), 3.

for example, was 'kings scholer' in the city, while the younger William and Florence were taught by 'the clark of St Andrews there'.³³ Nevertheless, this does indicate that Henry was at least familiar from a young age with the practice of educating daughters, and may well have been instrumental in ensuring his own daughter received tuition in a range of appropriate skills. Joyce's knowledge of both sets of letter characters suggests that she had been taught secretary and italic in her youth, possibly by peripatetic writing masters, since the formation of her characters is neat and regular; in addition, she was familiar with the rules of abbreviation. Many educated men may have been taught to write in both secretary hand and italic during this period, and because her half-brother Humphrey 'was something of a scholar and acquired a reputation as a traveller and travel writer', it is not difficult to imagine that Joyce and Katherine would also have been reasonably well-informed: Joyce at least had a minimal knowledge of Latin.³⁴ Some women did receive a more rounded classical humanist education than the prescriptive advice literature recommended, but unlike the daughters of Anthony Cooke and Thomas More, very few were trained in Latin, which was the language of government.³⁵ This of course did not prevent them from learning it themselves. Elizabeth Tanfield, Lady Falkland, who was born around the same time as Joyce, was a good example of this, and Joyce too may have been something of an auto-didact.³⁶

³³WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 80. Jeffreys copied out a number of entries from William's account book into his notebook; the notebook covered the period 27 Hen. VIII (1535/6) to 6 Ed. VI (1552/3).

³⁴Petti, *English literary hands*, 19; Tittler, 'Joyce Jefferies', 181. Humphrey Coningsby also collected poems, and was the compiler of a significant miscellany of Elizabethan poetry; H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Coningsby, Humfrey (1567–1610/11)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68035>]. There is no record of Humphrey attending university, but several members of Sir Thomas' branch of the Coningsby family did take up places at Oxford. Sir Thomas himself was created M.A. on 27 September 1592, and his sons Fitzwilliam and Thomas attended Lincoln College (B.A. 28 January 1612/13), and Gloucester Hall (matriculated 22 May 1601 aged 13; died 1602) respectively. J. Foster ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, II (Oxford, 1891), 316.

³⁵A. T. Friedman, 'The Influence of Humanism on the Education of Girls and Boys in Tudor England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 25 (1985), 64.

³⁶D. Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School* (Oxford, 1929), 185–6. Lady Falkland also learned Italian, French and Spanish without any formal tuition; J. Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History* (London, 1965), 46. Another of Joyce's contemporaries, the parliamentarian Lady Brilliana Harley of Brampton Bryan in Herefordshire, taught her sons Latin when school masters were unreliable; J. Eales, 'Harley, Brilliana, Lady Harley (bap. 1598, d. 1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 3 January 2005: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12334>]. Moreover, Lucy Hutchinson [b. 1620] was more adept at Latin than her brothers; L. Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, ed. J. Sutherland (London, 1973), 288.

Like Joyce's acquisition of writing skills, the source of her instruction on account-keeping remains unclear. Mathematical knowledge was not recommended for young women, even by some of the more progressive commentators.³⁷ Neither, apparently, were guardians and teachers instructed to teach girls arithmetic, although it was not uncommon for them to be charged with the task of educating girls in the casting of accounts. Frances Egerton (1602–64), later to marry Sir John Hobart, learnt 'how to read and cast accounts nimbly and exactly', while in her youth Lady Grace Mildmay of Lacock Abbey, who was educated at home with her three sisters, was set to 'cipher' by her governess, Mrs Hamblyn, 'and to cast up and prove great sums and accounts'.³⁸ Joyce may therefore have had some early instruction in accounting that she extended as an independent householder in middle age. There is no doubt that the keeping of accounts was widely practised by members of the Jeffreys family. When Joyce's great nephew, Henry, made an inventory of the family deeds and documents that were at Ham Castle in 1695, he listed several volumes of accounts in his possession, including her own. Indeed two of these had belonged to her father, who could well have been an early influence on her accounting technique.³⁹ Amongst the higher echelons of society, such practices may not have been unusual. Margaret Spencer, for instance, was given the task of providing a report of all her personal expenditure by her father Robert, and his notes as auditor appear throughout her manuscript.⁴⁰

Arithmetic was not yet recognised as an academic subject, but rather as a tradesman's skill, taught outside the main system of education by accountants and other proficient individuals. Samuel Pepys, who studied at Cambridge, and later taught his wife arithmetic, had to learn his tables from Richard Cooper, a ship's mate.⁴¹ But there was an increasing number of

³⁷ 'I feare no workmanship in wymen to give them Geometrie and her sister sciences: to make them Mathematicalls'; R. Mulcaster, *Positions wherein those primitive circumstances by examined, which are necessary for the training up of children, either for skill in their booke, or health in their bodie* (1581), 181.

³⁸ Cited in Charlton, *Women. Religion and Education*, 117; L. Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552–1620* (London, 1993), 26.

³⁹ WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 7. Jeffreys itemised three account books aside from Joyce's in his collection: A—'an old booke of accounts from 27 Hen 8 to 2 Ed 6 [1535–1549]'; B—'An old account Booke of Henry Jeffreys from 26 Feb 1552 to August 1556'; C—'Another from 15 to 25 Eliz [1572–1583]'. Jeffreys also noted on page 80 that the account book he had labelled 'A' was written in William Jeffreys own hand, but stated here that the book continued until the sixth rather than the second year of Edward's reign.

⁴⁰ BL MS ADD 62902, Account book of the personal expenses of Margaret Spencer [d. 1613], daughter of Robert first Baron Spencer of Wormleighton, 1610–1613.

⁴¹ R. Latham and W. Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 3 (London, 1970), 131, 134–5; idem, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 4 (London, 1971), 406.

arithmetical textbooks, from simple pamphlets like *The Childe's Counting Book* of 1624, to John Tapp's more detailed *The Path-way to Knowledge* (1613) which contained instruction on addition and subtraction, arithmetic and geometric progression, basic accounting and the calculation of interest on principle.⁴² Many examples also gave instruction on the use of arabic numerals, which Joyce adopted almost exclusively throughout her manuscript. Arabic numerals had been used in England since the thirteenth century, although according to Petti, they continued to be 'viewed with suspicion for accounting purposes' until at least the sixteenth century.⁴³ As late as 1640 the steward of the Howard family was still in the habit of using roman numerals, and the numbers in Roger Seaborne's surviving tailor's bill were written in a split format, half of which were arabic and the other half roman.⁴⁴ Lady Alice Le Strange, on the other hand, demonstrated a preference for using arabic numbers in her accounts from the second decade of the seventeenth century, and Joyce, too, was clearly familiar with the arabic system, although she kept a box of counters to assist her in her calculations.⁴⁵

From her manuscript it is clear that Joyce maintained a number of account books covering different aspects of her financial affairs, and appears to have been extremely competent in the keeping of accounts.⁴⁶ Double entry book-keeping had been introduced into England in the sixteenth century, but Joyce continued to employ the standard single entry practice, which adequately suited her needs.⁴⁷ Consisting of a list of annual receipts and expenditures but

⁴² John Tapp, *The Path-way to Knowledge; containing the whole Art of Arithmetick* (1613).

⁴³ Petti, *English literary hands*, 28.

⁴⁴ Ornsby, ed., *Household Books*; C. R. Hudleston, ed., *Naworth Estate and Household Accounts 1648–1660*, Surtees Society, 168 (1958).

⁴⁵ NRO Lest/P6, Household Account of Receipts and Disbursements by Sir Hamon and Lady Alice Le Strange, 1606–21. Counters had been an essential part of calculations in the older roman system of numeration; K. Thomas, 'Numeracy in Early Modern England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fifth series, 37 (1987), 106; Petti, *English literary hands*, 28. But they were also used with arabic numbers; see for example, R. Record, *The Ground of Arts: Teaching to perfecte worke and practise of Arithmeticke* (1623), 215. T. Whitgre's *A necessary instruction to cast account by* (1615) also claimed to teach anyone to cast accounts successfully, 'if they can but adde or put together either with Pen or Counters, a few summes'. In the 1550s Margaret Willoughby of Wollaton in Nottinghamshire learnt to cast accounts with the help of counters; Friedman, 'Influence of Humanism', 65. Griffiths, however, suggested that Joyce may have used her counters for card games; Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys of Ham Castle', Part 1, 10. Joyce refers to her 'cownters' in f. 58.

⁴⁶ ff. 64v, 44.

⁴⁷ Pacioli's classic accountancy text *De Scripturis* appeared in 1494, and the principles of double-entry bookkeeping were more generally available in published form from around 1500. However, Lee, Bishop and Parker have argued that it was not until the nineteenth century that the system was widely adopted in Europe; T. A. Lee, A. Bishop and R. H. Parker, *Accounting History from the Renaissance to the Present: A Remembrance of Luca Pacioli* (London, 1996), 19–20.

no statement of financial position, this simpler system nevertheless allowed Joyce to maintain a careful record of her income and expenditure, and this she completed admirably. As noted in the Introduction, she was consistent in the annual totalling of her receipts and expenditure, initially on March 24, St Mary's Eve, and later on March 31, and these figures included receipts and disbursements from her other estates. Secondly, Joyce employed a standardised format for setting out the accounts in a consistent manner, beginning with the title and the year and using such accounting terms as *Imprimis*, *Item* and *Summa totalis* in her listings. Thirdly, she paid attention to detail, recording all items carefully—even those for small amounts—under their date, and added any forgotten items of information that she remembered later. She even noted the loss of 1s in January 1642/3, which had been mislaid 'owt of my pockett'.⁴⁸ Joyce used marginalia both as a memorandum and as a means to identify items more quickly, and in seeking to render her accounts accurately, appears to have taken care to update them at regular intervals. The possibility of any great level of error or omission seems small, but there were oversights. Although the churchwardens' accounts of All Saints record payments received from Joyce between 1638 and 1641, for example, her own accounts only note making payment in 1638, 1639 and 1640.⁴⁹ There are also at least two instances in which dates do not follow a clear chronological pattern, suggesting some oversight or element of disruption to Joyce's normal routine.⁵⁰

One of the criticisms currently ranged at churchwardens' accounts is that they were not intended as 'working financial records' but rather as summaries or excerpts of accounts designed as a record of the good works of earlier parishioners—this helps explain why many of the totals are arithmetically unsound.⁵¹ Unlike stewards' accounts or those of churchwardens, Joyce's entries were not compiled in order to justify expenditure; her purpose in creating them derived more simply from a concern about personal solvency, and her calculations appear largely to have been correct. Missing values prevent a complete check of all her additions, but of the page totals that can be

⁴⁸ f. 51v.

⁴⁹ ff. 29, 33, 42. HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5).

⁵⁰ Entries for May and June are not in chronological order in ff. 32v–33 for example, and entries for April, May and June are similarly confused in ff. 54–54v. Though there is nothing in the accounts to suggest what the problem may have been in the first instance in 1639, the second occurred during 1643 in wartime conditions when Joyce was riding out the parliamentary invasion of Hereford at Garnons. In addition, she was clearly suffering at this time from a period of ill health.

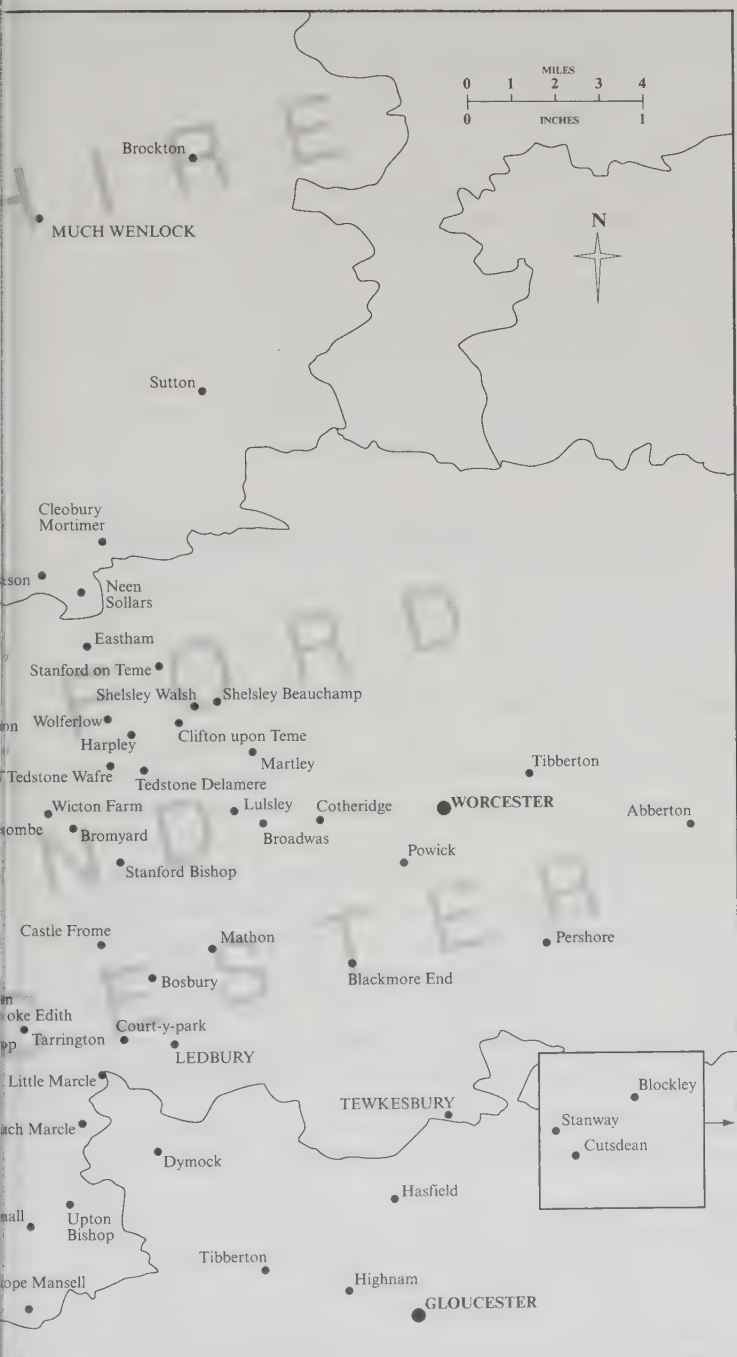
⁵¹ See the discussion about the value and accuracy of churchwardens' accounts in E. Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven, 2001), 19–24.

verified, 75 per cent were exact reckonings.⁵² Some small errors have been found in internal calculations as well as page totals, but by far the majority are for less than 1s. Furthermore, several can be attributed to specific items that were omitted from the calculations—usually on account of their position in the manuscript—rather than arithmetical mistakes. Only in one case is there a major discrepancy: f. 69v was totalled by Joyce at £170 15s 9d, but only appears to add up to £90 15s 9d. Nevertheless, the accounts appear as a genuine reflection—memory and some small miscalculations apart—of Joyce's incomings and outgoings between 1638 and 1648.

⁵² 8 of the 32 receipt folios (ff. 3v, 4v, 9v, 10, 12v, 16v, 17v, 20) that allowed for checking appear to have been incorrectly added up and 22 of the 88 disbursement folios (ff. 26v, 28v, 33, 33v, 38, 41, 41v, 42v, 44v, 46, 46v, 47, 47v, 48v, 51, 56v, 59v, 69, 69v, 70, 70v, 71). I have noted the revised totals in each case in a footnote, but have used Joyce's own figures when estimating her annual income and expenditure (see Table 3 in the Introduction).



Map of Hereford City, c. 1610 by John Speed.



Introduction

Once weekly remember thy charges to cast,
once monthly see how thy expences may last:
If quarter declareth too much to be spent,
for feare of ill yeare take advice of thy rent
Who orderly entreth his paiment in booke,
shall orderly finde them againe (if he looke)
And he that intendeth but once for to pay,
shall finde this in doing the quietest way.

Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred points of good Husbandry* (1638), 20

I. JOYCE, HEREFORD AND THE 'DIARY'

In 1857 John Webb drew attention to the 'curious old diary of an elderly lady of an ancient house', which was, at that time, in the hands of Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, baronet, of Stanford Court in Worcestershire.¹ The lady in question was Joyce Jeffreys, an elderly single Herefordshire gentlewoman, and her 'diary', a manuscript volume of receipts and disbursements pertaining to financial aspects of her life in and around Hereford between 1638 and 1648.² While the survival of any form of women's accounts is unusual, the survival of the accounts of an elderly spinster during this period is particularly fortuitous, for interest in early modern single women has gained considerable momentum in recent scholarship. Much of this interest has arisen as a result of the work of demographic historians, most notably Wrigley and Schofield, whose suggestion that rising levels of celibacy were likely to have been the root cause of the slowing down and eventual stagnation of English population levels in the seventeenth century has been extremely influential.³ No longer a mere antiquarian curiosity, single women

¹J. Webb, 'Some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady Resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century', *Archaeologia*, 37 (1857), 89, 193–4.

²Joyce's surname has appeared in two formats in the published literature: 'Jeffreys' and 'Jefferies'. I have chosen to adopt the former, since this is how Joyce herself wrote her family name. In the references, however, I have retained the spelling appropriate to the source in question.

³E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871: A Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981: paperback edition with new intro., Cambridge 1989), esp. ch. 11. See also D. Weir, 'Rather Never than Late: Celibacy and Age at Marriage in English Cohort Fertility, 1541–1871', *Journal of Family History*, 9 (1984). But note John Hatcher's recent critique, 'Understanding the Population History of England 1450–1750', *Past and Present*, 180 (2003).

have now become a major focus of historical investigation, as research seeks to reveal not only why women may have resisted the idea of marriage, but also how their single lives would have taken shape within the confines of a society in which adult female status and identity were so intimately tied to marriage. Moreover, the fact that the majority of women would still have married at some point in their lives—even when female celibacy reached its zenith, little more than a quarter of all women remained single at the age of 40—means that surviving accounts of single women are at a premium.⁴

The manuscript, as Webb indicated, embodied ‘a number of curious particulars bearing upon the events, persons, circumstances, and manners of the age’ in addition to setting forth Joyce’s ‘own very extraordinary self’. Webb did not offer a full transcription of the account book himself, even though he recognised that ‘selections from this book form[ed] but a small portion of its riches’, nor has one been attempted since.⁵ Apart from recent work by Robert Tittler, studies of Joyce remain antiquarian in nature.⁶ This is regrettable, given the fact that her accounts, and her receipt book in particular, provide some of the best and most detailed evidence available on the subject of early seventeenth century money-lending—by men or women—in addition to offering key insights into the lifestyle of a single, elderly gentlewoman immediately prior to, and during, the first of the civil wars in England. Given the current interest in single women—both historically and within our own society—the time seemed right to offer a full transcription of Joyce’s accounts for publication.⁷ For as Webb himself commented, ‘the original alone can set her forth in her true proportions’.⁸

⁴Wrigley and Schofield, *Population History*, 260, Table 7.28. The only other accounts in print are those of the Sarah Fell and her Quaker sisters. See N. Penney, ed., *The Household Account Book of Sarah Fell of Swarthmoor Hall* (Cambridge, 1920).

⁵Webb, ‘Some passages’, 194, 223.

⁶R. Tittler, ‘Joyce Jefferies and the Possibilities of Spinsterhood in Hereford’, in idem, *Townpeople and Nation English Urban Experiences 1540–1640* (Stanford, 2001); idem, ‘Money-lending in the West Midlands: the Activities of Joyce Jefferies, 1638–49’, *Historical Research*, 67 (1994); Webb, ‘Some passages’; F. R. James, ‘The Diary of Joyce Jefferies, A Resident in Hereford During the Civil War’, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists’ Field Club* (1921–3); R. G. Griffiths, ‘Joyce Jeffreys of Ham Castle: A 17th century Business Gentlewoman’, Parts 1 and 2, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 10 (1933), and idem, ‘Joyce Jeffreys of Ham Castle: A 17th century Business Gentlewoman—Appendix’, *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 11 (1934).

⁷In 1999 a report on the nature of British society argued that there would be a large increase in the following ten years in the number of single person households. Women were already more frequently living in this type of household in 1996 and their number was set to expand, especially amongst the 30–44 age group, who had professional occupations and could therefore finance their own mortgage and independent lifestyle. The report also noted that the proportion of women who never married was set to rise from 24 per cent in 1996 to 31 per cent by 2011. Foresight, *Britain towards 2010: the changing business environment* (1999), 13, 15, 18.

⁸Webb, ‘Some passages’, 193.

Joyce's manuscript was acquired by the British Museum in 1932, having been in the possession of the Winnington family of Stanford Court in Worcester shire since the eighteenth century. The single, hard-bound volume now carries the armorial bookplate of Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, fourth baronet, and is dated 1858, but the manuscript was already in its present form from at least 1695, when Henry Jeffreys, one of Joyce's great nephews, and at that time the owner of Ham Castle where she spent her final days, made an inventory of his deed and document collection. Among the deeds, bonds and indentures that detailed the principal legal transactions made by the Jeffreys family up to that point, he noted in a drawer 'under the Scrittore' in his lower study, 'An account Booke of Mrs Joyce Jeffreyes began 1 July: 1638 ends Apr:7:1648'.⁹ When Henry died in 1709, however, the manor of Clifton, including Ham Castle, passed to his niece Jane Bloome and her future husband Edward, third son of Sir Francis Winnington of Stanford Court, and a distinguished barrister and judge: he had agreed to take the Jeffreys name. Henry's attempts to preserve the family name, however, proved unsuccessful. Jane's three sons died in infancy and the manor, together with Joyce's manuscript, passed on Edward's death in 1725 to his eldest brother Salwey Winnington of Stanford Court.¹⁰

The volume of accounts opens with the receipt section, entitled, 'A new booke of receights of rents, anueties and interest moneys, begining at St Mary Day, 1638'. It consists of twenty-three written folios, numbered from 1 to 23, of which twenty-two were written by Joyce and one apparently by her nephew and executor, William Jeffreys. The disbursement section follows after a further seventeen blank folios. This is considerably longer than its predecessor, and entitled 'A booke of new dissbursments begininge at St Mary Day, 1638, at Heriford'. The first page has been numbered folio 25, and the list of disbursements continues through to folio 72, after which there are forty-seven blank folios, followed by a final inverted folio, folio 73; this too appears to have been constructed by Joyce's nephew, William, on at least two separate occasions.¹¹ Finally, between the blank folios in the receipt section lies folio 24, which consists of a tailor's bill written by Roger Seaborne in 1638; the corresponding entries can be identified in the manuscript.¹² Both the receipt and disbursement sections of the manuscript were written on the same size paper (each page measuring approximately 7 inches by 18 inches),

⁹ WRO, BA 13115 Ref. 899: 683, Antiquarian Notebook of Henry Jeffreys 1695–1709, 11. There is also a reference to a box, containing 'many things relating to Mrs Joyce Jeffreyes. Alsoe her will dat: 27 June: 1648'; *ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰ J. W. Willis-Bund and H. A. Doubleday, eds., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Worcester*, IV (1924), 249.

¹¹ I have numbered the reverse side f. 72v, since it appears to have been written prior to f. 73.

¹² f. 27.

and largely in the same colour ink. There is some noticeable variation in colour later in the accounts—folio 15 for example is more clearly brown, and folios 18 to 22 and 69 to 72 reveal a greater variety of colour intensity—but the overall impression of regularity in ink colour, despite some fading, suggests the purchase of commercially prepared rather than home produced ink, a factor that is confirmed by numerous entries for the same.¹³ Upon close examination it is possible to see very slight modifications in handwriting style, relating to letter size, pen performance and ink use that may reflect the boundaries of particular groups of entries. Apart from a marked deterioration in 1647/8 that no doubt reflects Joyce's declining state of health, the overall neatness and regularity of the writing, and the fact that entries in the margin appear to have been entered after the main body of the text, suggest that entries were copied up from rough notes in sections.¹⁴ Nor were these the only financial records she kept. Joyce made reference in her manuscript to other accounting books that have not survived: 'a litle thick booke', in which she entered figures for corn and cattle for her Broadward (Bradward) estate in 1646; and a 'boke of billding' in which she appears to have detailed the costs associated with the construction of her new house in Hereford.¹⁵

The accounts follow the format of the single accounting system, offering no final balance or statement of financial position, only a list of yearly outgoings and incomings, centred on what was then the first day of the year, St Mary's Day, March 25, the first of the four quarter days.¹⁶ This list however was comprehensive, and included subtotals for the incomings and outgoings on her other estates (Broadward, and for a short time the Free Town farm), providing annual grand totals. The book of receipts lists the interest payments made on outstanding loans, plus the amount of the loan, the amount of the interest and the date on which it was payable. In almost 75 per cent of cases the name *and* residential location of the borrower were mentioned, and on several occasions the occupation and status of the debtor too. Some

¹³ Preparing ink was a laborious task that could take several weeks. Recipes appear in a number of manuscript domestic receipt books. See for example, WLHM, MS 751, Elizabeth Sleight and Felicia Whitfield, Collection of medical receipts 1647–1722, 144.

¹⁴ In a number of cases, Joyce used a broken line to link an entry with its appropriate date if the two were not directly opposite each other. I have not added this to the text, but have indicated in the footnotes when this occurs. Dates frequently did not correspond exactly with the entry concerned. As regards the updating of accounts, Thomas Tusser suggested this be done on a monthly basis. See Tusser, *Five hundred points*, 20 (and the citation that appears on the first page of this volume).

¹⁵ ff. 64v, 44.

¹⁶ In practice, Joyce's 'year' often ran from April 1 to March 31, and from 1643 she noted this openly in her accounts. The remaining quarter days, when tenancies customarily began or ended are Midsummer Day (June 24), Michaelmas Day (September 29) and Christmas Day (December 25).

entries reveal the name of the intermediary charged with delivery of the payment, if one was employed, and whether any stock had been repaid. The accounts also record receipts of cash from other sources, including rentals, annuities, sales of property, livestock and other marketable goods. The disbursement book on the other hand details all references to payments Joyce made during the years in question, whether personal, household or trade-related. Entries thus reveal costs associated with wages, foods, clothing, medicine, household and personal items for herself and others, in addition to gifts, gratuities, purchases of property, and a range of costs related to litigation fees, local and national assessments, church dues and poor law contributions. There are even entries relating to a number of cash gifts to male friends on St. Valentine's Day. The manuscript, as Webb indicated, should then be more precisely conceived of as an 'autograph account-book', since interspersed among the receipts and expenditures of the ten years before her death are details of her daily life, personal circumstances, social activities and family relationships, providing historians with a rare opportunity to enter the largely unexplored world of the early modern spinster.

By 1638, and the point at which the first entries in the manuscript were made, Joyce was likely to have been considerably advanced in years. The only child of Henry Jeffreys of Ham Castle and Anne Barnaby of Bockleton, details about her early life are virtually non-existent, with even her date of birth being unknown. That she must have been born after 1569 is clear from the herald's visitation of Worcestershire in that year: it indicated that her parents were married, but as yet, they had no offspring. By 1583, however, Joyce's father was dead, confirming Joyce's birthday as somewhere between these two dates, although Griffiths, who wrote about Joyce in the 1930s, suggested it should be placed nearer to the former than the latter.¹⁷ If so, then Joyce may have already been in her late sixties by the time her accounts opened in 1638, but would in any event have been at least fifty-five. This clearly would have placed her within the elderly section of the early modern population, even though determining the onset of old age in this period remains problematic.¹⁸ Firstly there was considerable latitude in the timing. According to Thomas Cogan 'old age' stretched from 'forty nine years untill the end of life', although other sources indicate that for men at least it could begin anywhere between the ages of 35 and 72.¹⁹ In addition, there was more

¹⁷ Griffiths argued for a date of around 1570, largely on the strength of Joyce's close relationship with her half-siblings Humphrey and Katherine Coningsby, the children of Anne Barnaby and her first husband John Coningsby of Neen Sollars [d. 1567]. Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys' Part 1, 2.

¹⁸ See L. Bothelo, 'Old age and menopause in rural women of early modern Suffolk' in L. Bothelo and P. Thane, eds., *Women and Ageing in British Society Since 1500* (2001), 44–52.

¹⁹ Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health*, fourth edition (1636), 220; cited in Bothelo, 'Old age and menopause', 46.

than one category of elderliness. Henry Cuff for example, identified two stages in old age: the period between 50 and 65 'wherein our strength and heat are evidently impaired, yet not so much, but that there remaineth a will and readinesse to bee doing'; and the period after 65, which he defined as 'decrepit old age', when strength and heat 'is so farre decaied' that we resemble death itself.²⁰ Finally, such definitions tended to be male-centred. Women were rarely categorised in the same way as their male counterparts, for the female lifecycle was more commonly understood in relation to marital status, the classic tripartite division of maid, wife and widow. Moreover, women may have experienced an earlier and more dramatic entry into old age as a result of the menopause.²¹ Certainly Joyce suffered from a number of problems associated with old age, and a short discussion of these is included later in the introduction.

Though the date of her birth is unknown, there is little doubt that she was born at Ham Castle.²² Unfortunately no early images of the building remain. The picture of Joyce's first home included in this volume (see Plate 1) was inserted into Henry Jeffreys' notebook, probably by Sir T. E. Winnington in the 1850s or 1860s (he also had a tablet inscribed with the Jeffreys' coat of arms and a tribute to Joyce erected in the chancel at Clifton—where she was buried—in 1857). No images of Ham Castle prior to this drawing have so far been discovered, and it would undoubtedly have been considerably different during Joyce's childhood. Her great nephew Henry claimed that the fire of 1582 had caused considerable damage to the timber-framed building.²³

²⁰ Cuff, following Aristotle, identified a three-part division of man's life into 'child-hood [0–25], flourishing man-age [25–35 or 40], and old-age [post 35 or 40]', but also broke down each of these periods into further stages. See H. Cuff, *The Differences of the Ages of Mans Life* (1607), 116–120.

²¹ Recent research by Lynn Bothelo using honorific titles of elderliness—which were allocated according to physical experience—suggests that women on average were considered old at the age of 52, while for men the corresponding age was 61. She has further argued that growing old for men was generally 'a much more gentle and subtle affair', while many women 'experienced a marked entry into the first stage of old age' as a result of the physical changes that accompanied the menopause—the appearance of facial hair, a loosening of the skin and a stoop. Bothelo, 'Old age and the menopause', 48–59.

²² Her great nephew Henry Jeffreys recorded in his notebook that he had heard a local resident—Mr Ingram's grandmother of the Noke—say that when she was a girl she remembered Joyce pointing to 'a place about 12 yards from the Corner of the now dwelling hous N:E & say she was born in a chamber there'. WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 66. The former dwelling house was destroyed in a fire in 1582 (see later).

²³ WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 24. It may also have destroyed important documents, since in 1605 William Jeffreys obtained letters patent confirming the manor of Clifton to him. The editors of the *Victoria History* therefore assumed that the fire had occurred in 1605. See Willis-Bund and Doubleday, eds., *Victoria County History of Worcester*, IV, 247.

Though subsequently rebuilt by William, the seventeenth century house that eventually became Joyce's retirement home was also to suffer considerable damage during the mid-century conflict. Joyce noted in her accounts the visit of General Gilbert Gerrard, governor of Worcester, on 12 July 1645, and according to local folklore Oliver Cromwell shelled Ham Castle from the ridge at nearby Pulford.²⁴ A supplement added in the nineteenth century to Henry Jeffreys' notebook lends this some confirmation: 'three cannon balls were found about 1836 in the roots of an old Lime tree, on Ham Castle bank'.²⁵ While the full extent of the damage remains unclear, it may well have been extensive. In his *Guide to Worcester* of 1868 John Noake observed that Ham Castle, 'formerly a place of great strength ... was besieged and nearly destroyed in the civil wars'.²⁶ Nash too noted that the Castle was heavily damaged by the parliamentary army, and cited various entries in Joyce's accounts of fees paid for burying and digging up trunks and other property according to the movements of the enemy. On one occasion this apparently led to the discovery by William Jeffreys of a chest containing 'gold and silver and other kind of mettalls' buried in an earlier alarm.²⁷

A number of reparations were made to the Castle after the conflict had ended, and by the later seventeenth century it was a substantial dwelling: on 1 March 1680 Henry Jeffreys paid 15s hearth tax, 1s for each of the 15 hearths in existence.²⁸ Though a number of changes had occurred by the nineteenth century, Noake's description of the house for his *Guide* revealed some of its 'ancient stateliness'. It 'is a large half-timbered structure *temp.* Charles II; the dates 1677 and 1680, with the Jefferies' arms—sable, a lion rampant between three scaling ladders, or—being on the hopper-heads of the rainwater pipes. There is a massive oak staircase, and the book-shelves of the old library in the roof still remain. The old garden terraces are perfect; but the exterior of the house lost much of its ancient character through alterations made a few years ago [alterations were made in the 1840s]'.²⁹ This largely seventeenth century version of Ham Castle was destroyed by fire in 1887, and a more modern house now stands in its place. Some of the surviving outbuildings, however, date back to the seventeenth century.³⁰

²⁴ <http://www.clifton-upon-teme.co.uk/shelsleys.html> [accessed 29 December 2005].

²⁵ WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 100.

²⁶ J. Noake, *Noake's Guide to Worcester* (London, 1868), 94.

²⁷ Cited in the Willis-Bund and Doubleday, eds., *Victoria County History of Worcester*, IV, 247.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 247.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 247; Noake, *Noake's Guide to Worcester*, 94–5; WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 100. The coat of arms of the Jeffreys family is: sable, a lion rampant between three scaling ladders, or. The crest is: on a rock argent, a castle with two towers domed, or.

³⁰ Willis-Bund and Doubleday, eds., *Victoria County History of Worcester*, IV, 247.

After her birth in the Castle sometime after 1569, Joyce's earliest months may well have been spent away from her home in the care of a wet-nurse. Griffiths claimed that Joyce was put out at birth to a local woman of Clifton parish, and was likely to have remained there for between six and nine months, although he gave no source for this information.³¹ Despite the increasing value that was attached to maternal breastfeeding by both humanist and protestant commentators, wet-nursing 'was the normal procedure for rearing the children of rich women in the period 1570–1720'.³² Moreover, Joyce's accounts hint at the continuing popularity of wet-nursing amongst the wealthier Herefordshire residents. Of the ten local christenings to which she was invited, a record of payment to a nurse was only absent in two cases—at the ceremonies of John Hosey and Mary Meredith.³³ Her closest relatives too were happy to continue in the same vein. Joyce's nephew William and his wife Jane employed wet-nurses for the care of all the children that were born to them during the period of the accounts. William, John, Samuel and Joyce were nursed away from home by Margaret Nott of Great Shelsley, although the length of time they spent with her was not the same in every case.³⁴

But if Joyce's infant care had been assigned to an external wet-nurse, her early education would have been more closely supervised by her mother. There were a number of local dame or petty schools for girls in existence, as well as a range of charitable institutions—girls at Christ's Hospital in London in the 1550s, for example, received instruction on reading and needlework—but much of the initial education for daughters with high-status parents appears to have been provided by their mothers.³⁵ Lady Grace Mildmay of Lacock Abbey, who, as noted earlier, was educated at home with her three sisters, identified her mother 'as the person principally

³¹ Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 8.

³² D. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage & Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 1999), 87–8; D. McLaren, 'Marital fertility and lactation 1570–1720' in M. Prior, ed., *Women in English Society 1500–1800* (London, 1985), 28, 43; F. Heal and C. Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), 77.

³³ Joyce attended the christenings of John Hosey, Christopher Gravill, Beatrice Ailway, Margaret Church, Brabazon Barrall, William Preece, Joyce Lawrance, Mary Meredith, John Jeffreys junior and Joyce Jeffreys. However, the payments may not all have been to wet-nurses. Ralph Josselin, for example, hired a 'dry' nurse to help his wife out at the birth and for a few weeks after; A. MacFarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin: A Seventeenth-Century Clergyman* (Cambridge, 1970), 87.

³⁴ William may have been away for up to two years; Samuel appears to have been away for less than six months.

³⁵ W. Lempiere, *A History of the Girl's School of Christ's Hospital, London, Hoddesdon and Hertford* (Cambridge, 1924), 4–5, 27.

responsible for her and her sisters' education'.³⁶ And since both her mother and her father had children from previous marriages, Joyce may well have received some instruction alongside her half-brothers and sisters. Henry's first wife, Anne Walsh, who was the daughter of John Walsh of Shelsley Walsh, had given him six children, five daughters—Alice, Katharine, Mary, Isabel and Sybil—and William, the son and heir, who was eight when his father remarried. William predeceased Joyce in 1628, but his son, also named William, offered Joyce a home at Ham Castle in the final years of her life.³⁷ Though the ages of the girls were not given, Mary at least had married by 1577, and thus would have been considerably older than Joyce during their stay at Ham Castle. No mention of Mary, Katherine or Alice is made in the accounts, but Joyce did occasionally make reference to her two remaining half-sisters—Sybil Warrin and Isabel Adams. Isabel had married a minister from Felton, while Sybil's husband was a fustian maker from Bridewell in London, although during the period of the accounts they were residing in Antwerp. Sybil's choice of husband in particular appears to have the subject of some debate. Joyce's great nephew Henry claimed disapprovingly in his notebook that despite her marriage to a tradesman Sybil had been 'loathe to forgoe her Gentility' and continued to style herself 'generosa' on legal documents; he also noted that this had occasioned some negative comments from contemporaries.³⁸ Joyce made no mention of such matters in her manuscript, however, and sent Sybil cash gifts on at least three separate occasions during the period of the accounts.³⁹

In addition to the half-brothers and sisters Joyce had on her father's side were Humphrey and Katherine Coningsby, the children of her mother's previous marriage to John Coningsby of Neen Sollars.⁴⁰ Humphrey and Katherine may well have been nearer to her own age than any of the Jeffreys children, for though Katherine's age is not known, Humphrey's can be ascertained with some certainty: he was born either in 1565 or just before his father's death in 1567.⁴¹ Moreover, the accounts reveal the existence of a

³⁶ Grace's education fell largely under four headings: 'academic lessons, deportment, domestic skills, and religious training'; see R. M. Warnicke, 'Lady Mildmay's Journal: A Study in Autobiography and Meditation in Reformation England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 20 (1989), 58.

³⁷ W. P. W. Phillimore, ed., *The Visitation of the County of Worcester made in the year 1569*, Harleian Society, 27 (1888).

³⁸ WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 85. Henry also noted that others had condemned her for this.

³⁹ ff. 30v, 37v and 49v.

⁴⁰ Neen Sollars lies to the south of Cleobury Mortimer in Shropshire.

⁴¹ The inscription on his tablet in Neen Sollars church suggests he was born in February 1567, although the Inquisition post mortem of his father indicates he was two years old at this time. Webb, 'Some Passages'; 192; Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 2, fn. 1.

considerable bond between the three half-siblings. Only Katherine, who married Edward Freeman in 1587, was still alive when the accounts opened in 1638.⁴² She was described by Joyce as her 'deare sister', and when she died on September 18 1640, Joyce's distress was tangible. Indeed the accounts suggest that she attempted to assuage her grief at least in part by purchasing some of her half-sister's former possessions. She bought a cow from John Walsh that had belonged to Katherine, and later a pewter dish that Katherine had given to Elizabeth Munckland.⁴³ Her relationship with her half-brother Humphrey, who never married, must also have been a close one, despite the fact that Humphrey spent a considerable amount of time away from home.⁴⁴ After a period of time at school and university, Humphrey, like many young men of his age, ventured abroad to expand his knowledge and experience. 'Travel in the younger sort,' as Francis Bacon argued, was 'a part of education'.⁴⁵ Humphrey's cousin, Sir Thomas Coningsby, had visited Italy in the company of Sir Philip Sydney in 1573 and later during the seventeenth century many other young men—Nicholas Ferrar, George Oglander and John Evelyn, for example—reported their experiences of travelling on the continent.⁴⁶ According to the memorial erected by Joyce for him at his request in the church at Neen Sollars, Humphrey first set out on his travels in 1594 at the age of 27, exploring France, Germany, Italy and Sicily, before moving on, after a brief spell back in England, to the more easterly countries of Hungary and Poland. Before setting out on his third voyage in 1608, however, he decided to write his will, and named Joyce as sole executor. As things turned out, this proved to be a timely action. His fourth journey abroad to Venice on 10 October 1610 proved to be his final one, and 'from that day [he] was never after seen by any of his acquaintance on this side the sea or beyond'.⁴⁷ Humphrey left Joyce an annuity of one hundred marks (£66 13s 4d) and an interest in various lands and properties, but she waited seven years before

⁴² Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 2, fn. 4.

⁴³ ff. 39v, 53v.

⁴⁴ For Humphrey's biographical details see H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Coningsby, Humfrey (1567–1610/11)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68035>]

⁴⁵ Francis Bacon, *Essayes*, cited in R. E. Pritchard, ed., *Shakespeare's England: Life in Elizabethan and Jacobean Times* (Stroud, 2003), 107. For a discussion of the motives for travel see Chapter One in A. Hadfield, ed., *Amazons, Savages & Machiavels, Travel & Colonial Writing in English, 1550–1630: An Anthology* (Oxford, 2001).

⁴⁶ L. R. Muir and J. A. White, eds., *Materials for the life of Nicholas Ferrar* (Leeds, 1996); A. Dobbs, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, I (1620–1646) (London, 1906; reprint, London, 1996); Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 119. Sir Thomas' wife, Lady Philippa, was cousin to Sir Philip Sydney.

⁴⁷ Webb, 'Some passages', 192–3.

proving his will, and kept all his household goods in the manor house at Neen Sollars for the duration of her lifetime.⁴⁸

If much, or all of Joyce's younger life, had been spent at Ham Castle, then the situation was to change in 1582. At this point there was a major fire at the Castle, occasioned, according to Henry Jeffreys' notebook, by 'the carelessness of servants entertaining some of their Relations with a fire in a matted Rome which set the whole hous being of Timber in a flame'. It seems likely that this resulted in a temporary move to Neen Sollars, since Jeffreys further observed that Joyce's father, Henry, was 'living at that time upon the Joynture of his wife at Nende Sollers, she was widow to John Coningsby at Neen Sollers for indeed she was his last wife the hous being burn but a year before his death'.⁴⁹ Joyce may never have returned to Ham Castle before her father's death in 1583, and after his decease, when William, his only son, inherited the Castle at the age of 22,⁵⁰ she presumably remained with her mother, Humphrey and Katherine at the Coningsby family seat of Neen Sollars before transferring to Cotheridge, and the home of Sir Francis Kettleby, about four miles to the west of Worcester, when her mother married for the third and final time.⁵¹ There, according to her great nephew, Joyce remained until her mother died in 1617, moving afterwards to Hampton Court to take up residence with her cousin Sir Thomas Coningsby as 'a perpetual Companyon to Dame Phillippa his wife'.⁵²

⁴⁸ NA PROB 11/129, will of Humphrey Coningsby (12 July 1617); Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 6; FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies (9 November 1650). The statute assuming the death of absent persons after seven years was not introduced until 1667. See 'An Act for redress of Inconveniences by Want of Proof of the Deceases of persons beyond the Sea or absenting themselves, upon whose Lives Estates do depend', 19 Car. II, c.6. However, under an earlier Act—'An Act to restrain all Persons from Marriage until their former Wives and Husbands be dead' (1 Jac. I, c. 11)—husbands or wives 'continually remaining beyond the Seas by the Space of Seven years together' whose partners had no evidence during that time that they were still alive, could also assume their death. Legal advice given to Joyce in respect of Humphrey's goods may then have been drawn from this notion of a seven-year minimum. I am extremely grateful to Professor Richard Helmholz for his help in identifying the statutes cited.

⁴⁹ WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 24, 66.

⁵⁰ William, who matriculated at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, on 23 November 1581, may well have left his studies to return to Ham Castle after his father's death: there is no record of his graduation. J. Foster ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, II (Oxford, 1891), 806.

⁵¹ A copy of Sir Francis Kettleby's jointure to Anne, his wife, was included in the inventory made by Henry Jeffreys of his deeds and documents in 1695. The jointure was dated 1 March 1585/6. WRO Antiquarian Notebook, 10.

⁵² *ibid.*, 94. The castle at Hampton Court stands on the meadows of the River Lugg at Hope under Dinmore, north of Hereford towards Leominster. It was bought by Sir Humphrey Coningsby c. 1510 and remained in the Coningsby family until Richard Arkwright's son Richard, bought it in the early nineteenth century. C. J. Robinson claimed that 'there is no mansion in Herefordshire which can vie with Hampton Court in interest or in beauty'. See

Built in the early fifteenth century, Hampton Court had been held by the Coningsby family since at least 1480. Though the family appears to have originated in the village of Coningsby in Lincolnshire, by the thirteenth century this particular branch at least was resident in the West Midlands area. The engraving drawn by J. P. Neale in 1830 (see Plate 2) offers a view of the north front of Hampton Court, the aspect that retains most of its early Jacobean outlook. While the house has undergone considerable reconstruction since Joyce's day—Dingley in 1683 noted that the Great Parlour had been 'lately altered a la moderne' and rebuilding in the early 1700s and 1790s twice remodelled the south front—the north front has escaped largely untouched.⁵³

Despite Henry's claims, Joyce may have moved to Hampton Court well before 1617. Griffiths argued that Humphrey's letter of attorney, written before his third trip abroad in 1608, placed Joyce at Hampton Court rather than Cotheridge at that date,⁵⁴ and given the fact that Katherine had married in 1587, and that Humphrey had been absent from home since 1594, if not before, Joyce may well have moved to Hampton Court in the late sixteenth century to share the company of a young woman of similar age, whose husband was away fighting in France.⁵⁵ Moreover, many parents of gentry status continued to send their daughters to reside in suitable households in order to complete their education, a practice that had been a common and familiar part of medieval life.⁵⁶ As High Steward of Leominster (from c. 1590), head

A History of the Mansions and Manors of Herefordshire (London 1872; facsimile reprint, Almeley, Hereford, 2001), 162. The house and gardens have recently undergone extensive renovation. See <http://www.hamptoncourt.org.uk>

⁵³ J. Comforth, 'Hampton Court Herefordshire—I', *Country Life*, 153 (February 22, 1973), 450; C. Beale, *Hampton Court: A Brief History* (Hampton Court Estate, 2000), 4, 9, 17, 19. T. Dingley, *History From Marble* [Volume I], ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society (1867), ccxxxviii.

⁵⁴ Griffiths source for this information is Noake's books on Worcestershire, in which the author had preserved extracts from material on a history of Clifton belonging to Joyce's great nephew, Henry Jeffreys, that he claimed was destroyed in a fire at Stanford Court in 1885. Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 5, fns 5 and 6; see also Webb, 'Some passages', 194. However, it appears that this is the notebook belonging to Henry Jeffreys that now resides in Worcestershire Record Office. See WRO, Antiquarian Notebook.

⁵⁵ Sir Thomas Coningsby acted as muster master for the English army under the command of the Earl of Essex during the Siege of Rouen in 1591, and was one of the twenty four men knighted by him at Rouen on 8 October that year. I. G. Nichols, ed., *Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 1591. By Sir Thomas Coningsby, of Hampton Court, Co. Hereford*, Camden Miscellany, Volume I (1847), 5.

⁵⁶ In 1551, for example, Sir Edward Molineux placed his daughters Dorothy and Katherine in the household of George Browne, a cousin, with instructions that they were to be brought up 'in vertue, good manners and lerning to playe the gentlewomen and good huswyffes, to dress meat and oversee their households'; cited in D. Gardiner, *English Girlhood at School* (Oxford, 1929), 119. Some families enjoyed considerable renown for the instruction they offered—in Norfolk the Howard duchesses gained recognition for educating a number of young women in their households; S. D. Michalove, 'Equal in Opportunity? The Education of Aristocratic Women

bailiff of crown lands in Hereford and the Marches, Member of Parliament for Hereford (1593, 1597, 1601) and Justice of the Peace for the county (from 1592), Sir Thomas was certainly a suitable patron.⁵⁷ It is also possible that Joyce split her time between the Kettleby and Coningsby households. Sir Thomas' house was reputedly 'full of the sons of Gentlemen who at his expence were instructed in the arts of Riding fencing and other manly exercises', and her mother may have sent her there periodically, in the hope that she would meet a suitable husband.⁵⁸ Joyce may have lodged with Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa at their townhouse in Widemarsh Street, Hereford, moreover, where she would have received her introduction into urban society, and where, significantly, she was to later make her first home. Certainly, during the time she spent at their residences, Joyce developed a strong bond both with Sir Thomas and his wife. Sir Thomas, for example, called upon her to witness his first will in 1616, as well as the subsequent codicils, and she was initially chosen to act as one of his executors.⁵⁹ After his death in 1625, she received an annuity of £10 per year, and half of his wife Lady Philippa's wearing linen, fulfilling a request that the latter had made to him before her death. Joyce also remained close to their granddaughters, buying Philippa and Cecilia, Fitzwilliam's daughters, sweet-smelling gloves at New Year.⁶⁰

1450–1540' in B. J. Whitehead, ed., *Women's Education in Early Modern Europe: A History, 1500–1800* (New York, 1999) 56.

⁵⁷In addition to being knighted by the Earl of Essex, Coningsby was created Master of Arts at Oxford in 1592. Paul E. J. Hammer, 'Coningsby, Sir Thomas (1550–1625)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6075>]; W. R. Williams, *Herefordshire Members 1213–1896 The Parliamentary History of the County of Hereford* (Brecknock, 1896), 41. For further biographical details see the entry above. Joyce was certainly well connected. Comparing names in her manuscript with those appearing in M. P. Siddons, ed., *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634* (London, 2002), G. Grazebrook and J. P. Rylands, eds., *The Visitation of Shropshire 1623*, Parts I and II (London, 1889) and A. T. Butler, ed., *The Visitation of Worcestershire, 1634*, Harleian Society, 90 (London, 1938), suggests that Joyce may have had dealings with as many as fifty local armigerous families.

⁵⁸Cited in Comforth, 'Hampton Court - I', 451.

⁵⁹Sir Thomas' son, Fitzwilliam Coningsby, was later named sole executor in his father's final will 'out of espetiall hope in the goodnes of god of my sonnes discreet frugalitie hereafter together with his faithfull promise therein'. Originally Sir Thomas had decided upon three executors, Sir Richard Hopton, Mr Francis Smallman, and Joyce: 'my modest Cosen Joyce Jefferies the rather for the later prooffe of her constant perseveracon in manifesting the truth of like kynd, reposed in her by my Cosen her brother [Humphrey Coningsby]'. He had presumably not chosen Fitzwilliam initially because of past financial mismanagement, believing his son had a 'facilitie to intangle himselfe to all our detriments'. NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby, (18 March 1626).

⁶⁰*ibid*; f. 41. In the accounts, the use of the name Philip does not appear to have been gendered, but to avoid confusion I have adopted current practice in this introduction, using Philippa to denote a female and Philip, a male.

But if Hampton Court had provided her with a home for a number of years, the arrangement was not to be a permanent one. Despite the image of the genteel spinster as a financial burden and social embarrassment, Joyce was living independently in the parish of All Saints in Hereford from at least 1623, when she first appears on the list of parish assessments.⁶¹ Such evidence establishes Joyce in her own household in Hereford at an earlier date than has previously been suspected, suggesting her financial standing was of sufficient magnitude to allow her an independent living prior to Sir Thomas' death in 1625.⁶² Joyce's mother had left her a modest amount of goods and a cash sum of £33 6s 8d, and she had gained a substantial annuity plus some property from her half-brother Humphrey; in addition—according to her great-nephew, Henry—she had received the sum of two hundred marks (£133 6s 8d) in cash in the 1580s from her father's estate.⁶³ Mary Prior's work on early modern Oxford has suggested that 'the independent spinster had no place in the Oxford commercial community', but towns and cities could have been sites of considerable opportunity for well-heeled gentlewomen with cash in hand.⁶⁴ Urban areas were major sources of credit for their rural hinterlands, as well as forming part of an expanding credit network that increasingly extended to include London. Moreover, such independence may not have been unusual amongst single women of Joyce's economic and social situation. Amy Froide's recent study of Southampton, for example, has revealed that in addition to being of elevated social status, independent single

⁶¹ HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5), assessment date 15 June, 1623. For views on single women see M. Slater, *Family Life in the Seventeenth Century: The Verneys of Claydon House* (London, 1984), 78, 84; D. M. Stenton, *The English Woman in History* (1957), 117.

⁶² Tittler surmised that Joyce remained with Sir Thomas and Lady Philippa until the death of the former in 1625. Tittler, 'Joyce Jefferies and the Possibilities of Spinsterhood', 182. Joyce had certainly been present at Hampton Court for the signing of Sir Thomas' first will in 1616 and attended all the subsequent amendments through to 2 July 1623. If not already living elsewhere prior to this, however, she seems by this point at least to have taken up residence in Hereford: she paid her first assessment to the churchwardens of All Saints on 15 June 1623. By this point Lady Philippa was no longer alive. In an undated codicil attached to his will—written after 15 October 1617 and before 17 June 1620—Sir Thomas had shared out his wife's jewellery between their children, and left Joyce her linen as she had requested. NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby.

⁶³ The will of Joyce's father, Henry Jeffreys, has not been found, but her great-nephew Henry Jeffreys copied out the details of her father's will in his notebook. WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 82. The cash gift from her mother is mentioned in the will of her half-sister, Katherine Freeman. HAS, will of Katherine Freeman of Neen Sollers, 1640, probate film number AA 20/X1010/A, 1639 number 143 to 1660/61 number 163, f. 151.

⁶⁴ M. Prior, 'Women and the urban economy: Oxford 1500–1800', in Prior, ed., *Women in English Society*, 110.

women had two common characteristics—they were relatively old and had lost both parents.⁶⁵

Hereford had been an urban centre for several centuries. It was not until the reign of Richard I, however, that the city received its first charter, giving the townsmen rights and interests that had previously belonged to the crown for a payment of 40 marks and a fee farm rent of £40.⁶⁶ The older Saxon settlement had been greatly extended after the Norman Conquest, but the granting of the charter allowed the citizens to fortify their new city, uniting the Saxon and the Norman areas within great walls of stone that were punctuated by six gates, and surrounded by water.

In the early sixteenth century much of this medieval burgh remained intact. According to Leland's first report, the town was surrounded with a ditch and had a castle with a dungeon that was 'highe and very stronge'. He also noted the presence of four parish churches inside the walls—which were named elsewhere as 'St Peter, St. Nicholas, Alhalows [All Saints] and St. John's'—and two outside in the suburbs, in addition to 'a celle of Blak Monkes longing to Glocester Abbay, [and] ii. houses of Freres Blak and Gray.'⁶⁷ John Speede's map of 1610, however, revealed a walled town with only five main gates: Friar's Gate and Eign Gate were located on the west wall; St. Owen's Gate on the east; and Byster's Gate and Widemarsh Gate were situated on the northern part of the wall, furthest from the river. Wye Bridge—over the river to the south—had now replaced one of the earlier gates (see Map 1 and Plate 4).

During 1638, Joyce's accounts place her in the parish of All Saints in a house in Widemarsh (Widmarsh) Street outside the gate, then part of the northern suburb of the city, which she rented from John Fletcher. This house, unfortunately, is no longer standing, and no seventeenth century images of it remain. However the pen and ink drawing, inserted into the notebook of Henry Jeffreys in the 1860s (again most probably by Sir T. E. Winnington)

⁶⁵ A. M. Froide, 'Marital Status as a Category of Difference: Singlewomen and Widows in Early Modern England', in J. M. Bennett and A. M. Froide, eds., *Single women in the European Past, 1250–1800* (Philadelphia, 1999), 241–2. As Froide has noted, women of Joyce's age were also able to head their own households because they had passed the age at which, as single independent women, they would have posed a sexual threat to the community. See too Bothelo, 'Old age and menopause', 52.

⁶⁶ W. H. Howse, 'A History of the City of Hereford', Chapter 14 in *Herefordshire: Its natural history, archaeology and history. Chapters written to celebrate the Centenary of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, founded in 1851* (Malvern, 1954).

⁶⁷ L. Toulmin Smith, ed., *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543, Parts IV and V*, Volume 2 (London, 1964), 65, 66; idem, *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1536–1539, Part V*, Volume 3 (London, 1964), 48.

appears to offer some idea of what it may have looked like in the seventeenth century (see Plate 3).⁶⁸

Marked incorrectly on Speede's map, Widemarsh Street fell into two sections: the first part lay within the walls, beginning at the High Cross (K on Speed's map) and continuing on to Widemarsh Gate; the second part, in the suburbs, extended outwards from the gate and progressed northwards past the site of the Black Friars. In Leland's time at least, this was considered 'the fayrest suburbe of the towne'.⁶⁹ Joyce may have been living in Fletcher's house from as early as 1623, when she first appears on the schedule of parish assessments for All Saints' church. Certainly she was in possession of lands owned by the Fletcher family from at least 1624, when she was assessed in the lay subsidy of that year at 2s for the lands of Thomas Fletcher that were in her occupation.⁷⁰ In any case she continued to maintain her residence there until 1644, paying an annual rent of £6, first to John Fletcher, and then jointly to his mother and widow, after Fletcher's death in 1642. Joyce was also involved in the process of building her own house in Widemarsh Street, a process that had been underway from some time and eventually cost her, according to her own reckoning, over £500.⁷¹ It was finally completed and ready for occupation in the Easter of 1644, yet Joyce spent only three days in her new house before leaving Hereford for her childhood home of Ham Castle, from which she never returned. That she had already planned to be at Ham Castle before Holy Rood Day (14 September) is clear from an early payment for rent by Maud Pritchett, who was aware of Joyce's intentions, but whether this arrangement was permanent or not from the outset is not revealed. At some point, however, she decided to move to Ham Castle on a permanent basis in order to spend her final years with her nephew William. And settled at last in her retirement, Joyce appears to have found a measure of contentment in the company of William's family until her death sometime in 1650. Like the date of her birth, however, the exact point of her decease remains unclear. Joyce made no entries in her account books after April 1648, and drew up her last will and testament on 27 June of the same year. A codicil added on 3 April, 1650 reveals that she was still alive at that point in time, but by October 17, when William attempted to assess the value

⁶⁸ There is no way to verify the authenticity of this drawing. It may have just been an artist's impression, for if all the suburban houses were burnt down by Barnabas Scudamore in an attempt to secure the city of Hereford in 1645, as Webb suggested, then the house Joyce had been renting should have been destroyed. See later, footnote 165.

⁶⁹ Toulmin Smith, *Itinerary of John Leland*, 2, 67.

⁷⁰ HAS BG11/17/4/46-7, City of Hereford Miscellaneous Papers 1600-1644.

⁷¹ f. 18. There is no indication as to where this property was on Widemarsh Street, but as it was levelled during the civil wars in an attempt to provide better defence for the city, it must also have been in the suburbs.



Ham Castle.

Plate 1. Ham Castle, c. 1860s. This drawing of Joyce's birth place, probably by Sir T. E. Winnington, was inserted into *The Antiquarian Notebook* of Henry Jeffreys, 1695-1709. The house had been altered considerably since Joyce's time as a result of rebuilding after a fire and damage in the Civil War



Plate 2. Hampton Court, c. 1830 by J. P. Neale. The north front of the castle had remained much as it was when Joyce lived there

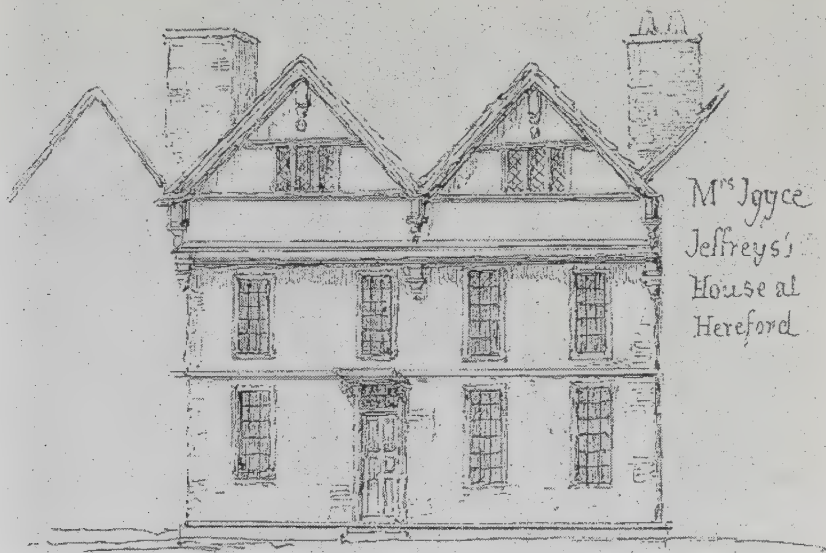
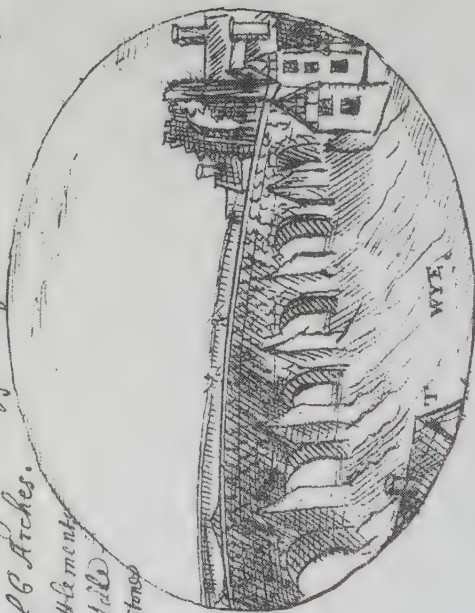


Plate 3. An impression of Joyce's rented house on Widemarsh Street, c. 1860s. This pen and ink drawing, inserted into *The Antiquarian Notebook* of Henry Jeffreys, 1695–1709 — most probably by Sir T. E. Winington — offers an idea of how the house would have looked in the seventeenth century

*A Touch of Wye Bridge as it appears from Doctor Wade's marked T.
 The Bridge consists of 6 Arches.
 of stone, upon 3 Buttresses
 whereof near the middle
 read this engraving in stone*



Refraine to
 cast me downe

Plate 4. Wye Bridge, Hereford. T. Dingley, *History of Marble*, Volume 1, 1867

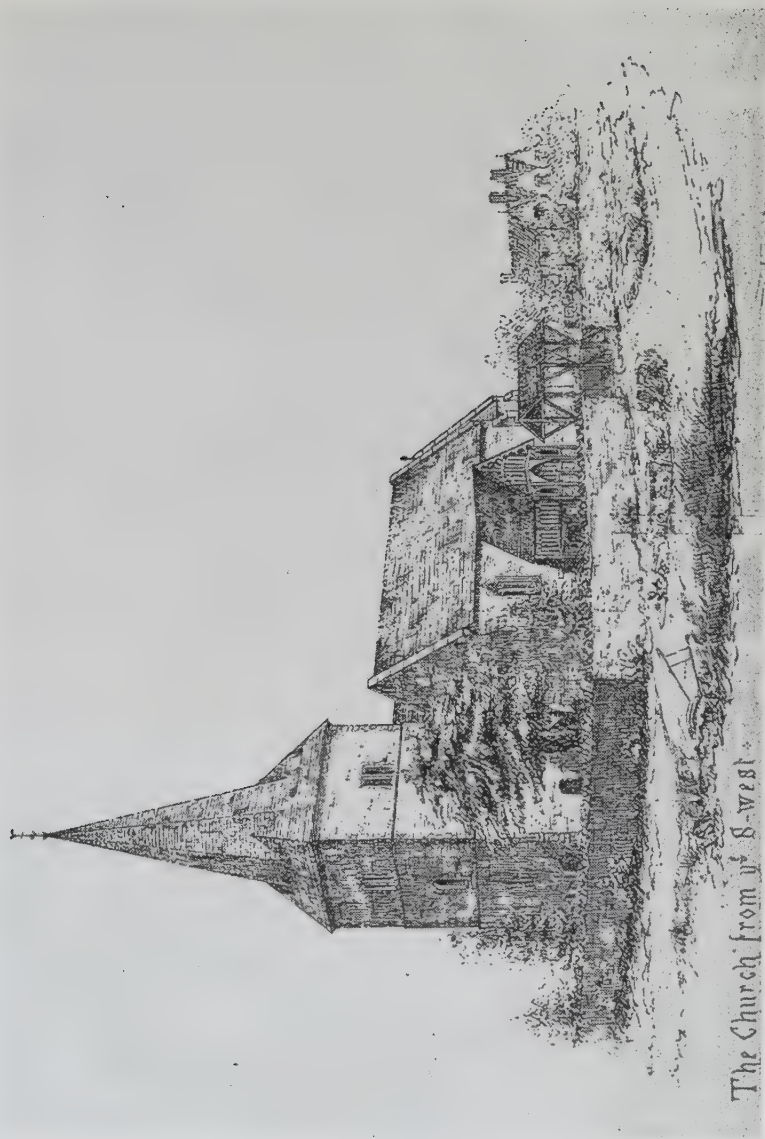


Plate 5. Clifton on Teme church, c. 1860s. A drawing inserted into The Antiquarian Notebook of Henry Jeffreys, 1695–1709



Plate 6a. (above) All Saints' church, Hereford, c. 1680s

Plate 6b. (below) Thomas Coningsby's Hospital, Hereford

Both images are from T. Dingley, *History from Marble*, Volume 1, 1867





Plate 7. Ham Castle, Clifton upon Teme, Worcestershire, 2006



Plate 8. Hampton Court, Hope under Dinmore, Hereford (north front), 2006

of her outstanding loans, she may have passed away.⁷² Her will was finally proved by him on 9 November 1650, but it appears that she was not granted her final request: 'to be interred in the south isle of the church of Clifton upon Tembe where my said fathers [body] was interred, & being the usuall place of buriall for our family'.⁷³ Instead, according to Henry Jeffreys' notebook, she was buried in the chancel in the grave of her half-brother William.⁷⁴

II. BUSINESS DEALINGS AND MONEY-LENDING ACTIVITIES

By the end of her life, Joyce had accumulated a substantial amount of land and property. In her will of 1648 she bequeathed to her 'beloved and well deserveing nephew', William Jeffreys, all her 'messuages, burgages, cottages, gardens, orchards, lands, tenements, rents, revercions and hereditaments whatsoever, scituate, lyeing and being in Hereford, Holmer, Withington, Sutton, Marden als Mawarden, Bodenham, Warton, Newton, Brierley, Broadward and Leominster in the county of Hereford or elsewhere with and singular their and every of their appurtenances'.⁷⁵ Furthermore, it seems likely that Joyce had been in possession of a number of other lands and properties over the course of her lifetime. Certainly she had inherited Humphrey Coningsby's interest 'in leases of houses, stables, Gardaines and other commodities whatsoever in or within Five miles of London', which she had presumably sold at a later date, and had also held the title to a farm or capital messuage called Fernolls, which, according to his will, Sir Thomas Coningsby had purchased from her some time before September 1617.⁷⁶

Much of the property Joyce held may have been acquired as a result of her money-lending activities. For of the three farms Joyce was holding in 1638—Broadward, Wharton (Warton) and the Free Town—it was only the latter, the Free Town estate in the parish of Tarrington, to the east of Hereford, that

⁷² William changed the tense of his sentence introducing the list of debts owing to Joyce from the present to the past; f. 72v.

⁷³ FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies. It was not unusual for single women to ask to be buried near their parents. A. M. Froide, *Never Married: Single women in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2005), 49.

⁷⁴ The *Visitation of Worcestershire* lists the date of her death as 6 November 1650—A. T. Butler, ed., *The Visitation of Worcestershire, 1634*, Harleian Society, 90 (1938), 54; M. Fitch, ed., *Administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1631–1648*, British Record Society (1986). WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 56.

⁷⁵ FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies.

⁷⁶ NA PROB 11/129, will of Humphrey Coningsby; NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby.

seems to have been unrelated to her debts; the lease of this she sold to Peter Nash towards the end of 1638.⁷⁷ Broadward, an estate situated about a mile south of Leominster, Joyce appears to have been holding as a result of a debt of £541 owed to her by William Harris, the farm itself being leased from Brasenose College, Oxford, for a half-yearly rent of £14 6s. Wharton, adjacent to Broadward and south of it, Joyce held by virtue of a mortgage between herself and Mr John Hackluit, who had borrowed £800 against the rental of the farm; during the period of the accounts Joyce received rental payments from two of its tenants, firstly, from Richard Higgins and then latterly, and more problematically, from William Gittos. Joyce also held pasture land in Oxfordshire, at Brookend, by way of security for a loan of £200 owed by her cousin Edmund Ansley, and added around another thirty acres to her portfolio during the period of the accounts.⁷⁸ Other acquisitions included the fifteen acres of grange land near Leominster that Joyce had bought from William Wanklin—for which the Duke of Buckingham charged her an annual chief rent of 10s and the Bishop of Gloucester 5s—three pastures at Ayleston, and two more in Ewe Withington called the Cobnails, rented for the sum of £14 per year from Lady Points. Joyce only worked one of the latter however, subletting the other to Widow Smith of Ewe Withington for the sum of £6 a year.

Alongside her land holding, Joyce's accounts demonstrate considerable engagement in the local property market. On the one hand she was herself a tenant, renting the house in which she lived from John Fletcher for the sum of £6 per annum, and a stable, barn and hayhouses from William Eysham at a cost of £2 per year; all were situated in Widemarsh Street. The accounts reveal that Joyce had paid Mr Lawrance, a 'cownselor', to draw up the paper-work necessary to enable her to take over the lease of the farm buildings that she rented from Eysham, but Lawrance had died before completing his task. Nevertheless by 1640 Joyce effectively had control over these buildings. Eysham and his brother Henry had defaulted on their £40 joint loan, and Joyce was paying the rent directly to the landlord, Mr Roger Bodenham. Joyce was involved in the property market as both owner and rentier. Firstly, she was engaged in the building of a new house for herself in Widemarsh Street that was completed during the course of the accounts. Secondly, she acquired another house in Widemarsh Street from Elizabeth Goulding, later one of her employees, in the December of 1640. Having paid the sum of £25

⁷⁷Peter Nash was one of Joyce's borrowers. Nothing was said about the freehold land that Joyce held in association with the Free Town farm, but presumably this was sold along with it.

⁷⁸At Michaelmas in 1640 Joyce paid rent on the twenty four acres of mortgaged land in Sutton that James Dudson had forfeited to her; f. 40. Then in March 1646/7 Philip Wallis surrendered five acres of tilled land in Holmer to her in default of payment on his mortgage; f. 67.

for it, she then appears to have named it 'Gowlding Hall' and rented it out to Roger Goulding for 12s per annum. During 1638 she rented 'a litle roome in the back lane' to Widow Golding for an annual payment of 5s, while John and Maud Pritchett were longer term tenants, paying rent for a house and garden in Widemarsh Street from 1638 until 1645, at the rate of £3 per year. Finally, Mr Humphrey Diggers paid rent for two swine cots in the same street in 1644.

Some of her property dealings were linked to her agricultural interests, for Joyce's business interests extended beyond the benefits of property holding and rentals to the sale of agricultural and garden produce, most of which she traded locally. As the county town of Herefordshire, the city of Hereford enjoyed a significant role in the administration of local and national affairs, but it remained embedded within an overwhelmingly agrarian society, having a weekly market and regular fairs. The landscape of the West Midlands in general was still dominated by woodland and pasture, but as the size of the population had steadily increased, efforts had been made to improve fertility and extend the amount of arable land under cultivation. Herefordshire's pattern of corn-cattle husbandry embraced the largest corn-growing area of all the west midland counties, and may have been one of the few to have any significant surplus.⁷⁹ Animal husbandry too was a feature of the Herefordshire district. Rowland Vaughan's new technique of floated water meadows, for example, allowed him to keep livestock throughout the winter and the summer in the Golden Valley, while fruit growing and market gardening took on a new significance in the early modern period. Orchards increased in number, especially in a fruit-growing county such as Herefordshire, with the most commonly marketed fruits being cherries, pears and apples, references to which appear frequently in the pages of Joyce's manuscript.⁸⁰ John Beale could therefore argue with some conviction in 1656 that Herefordshire was 'reputed the orchard of England, and in the generality of good husbandry excelleth many other places'.⁸¹

In terms of Joyce's own agricultural interests, however, her accounts reveal a mixture of farming activities, and a good deal of entrepreneurial spirit. In the first instance, she made use of the gardens she held in the city of Hereford. Although vegetables and fruits would undoubtedly have been produced for her own consumption, she sold apples from her garden and pears from the

⁷⁹ Corn growing in Herefordshire had improved to such an extent that the county could be described as 'the barns for the corn' in 1597, while to Camden the county appeared 'fruitful for corn and cattlefeeding'. Cited in J. Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Volume IV, 1500-1640* (Cambridge, 1967), 105-6.

⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 99-101, 195-6.

⁸¹ Cited in W. Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Herefordshire in Four Volumes*, I (London, 1908), 426.

garden bought from Elizabeth Goulding, while monies from the sale of lard, 'licker', cabbages, plums and cucumbers all feature in the receipt book according to season. Joyce even had a foothold in the lucrative saffron market.⁸² She bought barley and oats to make malt, some of it for the market, occasionally sold hogsheds of cider and also bought and sold hops.

Secondly, Joyce drew income from a small amount of land, both arable and pasture. Her arable land consisted of the fifteen acres of grange land she held near Leominster, on which during the period of her accounts she grew three types of crop—wheat, rye and pulses. The crops were cultivated using a three-course system of rotation over five-acre sections, so that each season five acres of ground were planted with a mixture of wheat and rye (although the proportions of each varied through the period of the accounts) and a further five acres with pulses; the remaining five acres each season were given over to fallow. This may have formed part of a larger three-field system of husbandry in that area, but the extent to which this system was in use in Herefordshire at this time has proved difficult to establish. A three-course rotation of crops did exist on demesne lands in the Leominster area in the time of Edward III, and pockets of evidence for the three-field variety have survived—at Kingsland for example. But Gray, in his history of English field systems, noted that 'there were many irregularities in Herefordshire fields' in the sixteenth century and evidence for the existence of a three-field system remains 'meagre'.⁸³ As noted earlier, Joyce also held five pieces of pasture land, which was split between the two pastures she rented at Cobnails from Lady Points and three others she held at Ayleston. Of the two at Cobnails, Joyce retained only the 'hither' pasture for her own use, leasing the 'further' pasture at Cobnails to Widow Elizabeth Smith, who lived adjacent to it. Joyce appears to have worked all the pastures at Ayleston herself during the early part of the accounts, but by 1643 was renting them out to John Joanes for the sum of £9 10s per annum. Pasture land could be extremely

⁸²William Harrison argued that saffron from 'Gloucestershire and those westerly parts, which some think to be better than that of [Saffron] Walden, surmounteth all the rest and therefore beareth worthily the higher price'. Saffron was in high demand as it had many uses, both in cookery and medicine. It was made into cakes at wedding and churching celebrations, added to treatments for problems of the bladder, liver, breast and lungs, and steeped in wine it helped prevent drunkenness and encourage fertility. W. Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. G. Edelen (New York, 1968; reprint with new preface, Toronto, 1994), 348–355.

⁸³Gray claimed that there had been a transition from a two-field to a three-field tillage system within the area of the midlands during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but that departures from this norm were common in the counties of the western midlands. H. L. Gray, *English Field Systems* (1915; reprinted in London, 1959), 64–5; 406. See also J. N. Jackson, 'Some Observations Upon the Herefordshire Environment of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 36 (1958).

profitable, making the hay harvest a significant feature of the agricultural year. Joyce was able to sell grass and a considerable amount of hay—sales of the latter brought in over £14 in cash in 1641, for example—and her accounts reveal the many costs associated with its collection, transportation and storage. Indeed Joyce had to rent temporary barn space in Ayleston from Widow Exton and more from John Crowsnest during the late summer for the hay that could not be stored in her own buildings and those she rented from William Eysham. She also sold the after-math and later-math of the pastures, although she was required to pay for the herbage of the three pastures at Ayleston at a rate of 18s per year.

Aside from the hay harvest, Joyce's main agricultural interests centred on Broadward, the estate she held as a result of William Harris' £541 debt. Details of the workings of the farm are sketchy at best, for though Joyce kept accounts for the farm they have not survived. Costs outlined in end of year summaries indicate that the household included servants, and wages were paid to workmen for ploughing, threshing and harvesting.⁸⁴ As to the business of the farm, cattle were bought on more than one occasion, along with seed to plant in the following season. Income summaries outline the receipt of monies for corn, cattle and rents, which probably account for the bulk of the estate's profit. Thus in addition to selling corn, the farm probably fattened livestock for slaughter, and produced milk for home consumption and for the market. In 1642 Joyce wintered one cow at Hereford and received 18s 4d for the milk she sold, having satisfied not only her own house, but also a number of others who had been given the milk free of charge. Land rental clearly offered a further source of income—William Bache made a final rental payment in January 1640/1, for example—and in 1647 John Fisher was renting out certain 'aiveries' that lay on the Broadward estate.⁸⁵ The estate appears to have housed the usual poultry, and goats and sheep in addition to cattle. Most of the areas that were engaged in mixed husbandry relied on sheepfold to maintain fertility, and Joyce's entries suggest that the district north of Hereford was no exception.⁸⁶ She had a share in a number of sheep that were owned jointly by herself and her agent, Matthias Rufford, and references to sheep and sheepskins are not uncommon in the accounts.⁸⁷ Moreover, as an

⁸⁴ Joyce mentioned two of the servants at Broadward by name—Mary Collins and Blanche Miles.

⁸⁵ He was also renting the pond meadow and two further acres of meadow in the neighbouring estate of Wharton, the other farm in Joyce's possession.

⁸⁶ Thirsk ed., *Agrarian History*, 105.

⁸⁷ This may have been part of his contract. Henry Best recorded that some servants 'will conditi-
on to have soe many sheepe wintered and sommered with their Maisters' as part of their wage.
See D. Woodward, ed., *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642*
(Oxford, 1984), 140. Rufford may have been a distant relation, but in any case there were long

adjunct to her agricultural interests, it is clear that Joyce derived some additional income from the sale of animal skins. While the flesh of her livestock went to satisfy the needs of a number of local butchers, Joyce also recorded payments from local traders for animal hides, including those of oxen, cattle and kids as well as sheep.

Examination of the basic profit and loss statement of Broadward suggests that at the outset of the accounts it was essentially a profitable venture. The farm did lose money in 1639/40, possibly as a result of a sudden loss of livestock (cattle plague?), since the annual total included 'cattell to begin againe to stocke the farme'.⁸⁸ The most difficult years, however, were those in the early 1640s, the high figure in 1646 especially being the result of having to support the cost of billeting soldiers. Furthermore, the fact that the farm appears to make a profit in this period is likely to be an illusion—some of the outstanding interest payments that Matthias Rufford had collected on Joyce's behalf appear to have been included in the totalling of the receipts. Indeed, the continuing deficit may have been one of the reasons Joyce appointed John Berry to oversee the estate late in 1646.

Table 1. Broadward receipts and disbursements at c. St Mary's Eve, 1638/9 to 1646/7

Year end (St Mary's Eve)	Receipts (£)	Disbursements (£)	Profit (£)
1638/9	160	49	111
1639/40	140	55	85
1640/1	38	132	-94
1641/2	173	131	42
1642/3	214	130	84
1643/4	81	135	-54
1644/5	70	83	-13
1645/6	150	178	-28
1646/7	280 ⁸⁹	250	30

Source: *Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys*

Why Joyce worked Broadward instead of renting it out to a tenant remains something of a puzzle. Her decision may have been related to the size of the return, especially if this was better than she could have expected to recoup in

running connections between the Rufford and Jeffreys families. Henry Jeffreys' notebook contained a section of the will of his ancestor Henry in which the latter left bequests to Joan Rufford, his godchild Anne Rufford, and the older children of Roger Rufford, who was also one of the executors. WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 74, 76.

⁸⁸ f. 42v.

⁸⁹ This total includes a number of interest payments collected by Matthias Rufford on Joyce's behalf at Broadward, and therefore does not provide an accurate figure for farm receipts for the given year.

rent: for the early part of the accounts at least the return exceeded the amount of interest that would have been payable annually on the outstanding debt of £541; it was only with the deepening crisis of war that revenues entered a more pronounced and consistent decline. Furthermore, managing the estate would have undoubtedly increased her status in, and involvement with, the local community. The Herefordshire economy in the mid-seventeenth century was dominated by the agricultural sector, and Joyce appears to have had an interest, however minor, in the bulk of its products, whether this involved corn, cattle, seasonal fruit and vegetables, saffron or parcels of wood. She even indulged in a limited amount of horse breeding and dealing, although her profit from this enterprise does not appear to have been of great significance. Joyce's accounts reveal that she kept adult mares to draw her coach, and paid local stallion owners such as Mr Sheward and Mr Brabazon for the services of their beasts during mating season. The resulting colts were sold on to local customers, or at the fair, where, on occasions, Joyce also bought new stock. She sold a black colt called Wallis at Bromyard fair in 1643, for example, and in November of the same year paid James Wattis for four mare colts with 'starres and white feette' bought at the great cattle and horse fair of Market Harborough in Leicestershire.⁹⁰ Her accounts also itemise many of the costs associated with horse-keeping, from the treatment of injury or illness to payments for breaking and training young horses, in addition to the day-to-day expenses of fodder, shoeing and general care.

A further source of income was the cash she received from the two annuities left to her by members of the Coningsby family, one for £66 13s 4d from her half-brother Humphrey Coningsby, and the other for £10, bequeathed to her by her cousin Sir Thomas Coningsby. But neither her business interests nor her life annuities were as significant as her money-lending activities. The main source of Joyce's income was undoubtedly the interest she gained from extending her considerable capital on mortgage or loan. The provision of credit has been a significant issue in the historiography of early modern England since R. H. Tawney highlighted the role of the 'money-master' in the 1920s.⁹¹ Holderness' later work on probate inventories went on to reveal money-lending as an activity that was much more widely diffused throughout the early modern community, and undertaken by anyone with

⁹⁰ Stars clearly made colts more desirable in this period. Gervase Markham's tract on horse husbandry gave instructions on how to colour horse-hair to give the appearance of white, black or red stars. G. Markham, *Markhams Maister-peece*, sixth edition (1643), 541–6.

⁹¹ See R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926) and T. Wilson, *A Discourse upon Usury*, ed., R. H. Tawney (1925).

capital to spare.⁹² Credit encompassed a wide variety of economic relationships from deferred payment for goods to cash secured on bonds, ensuring that individuals found themselves 'constantly involved in tangled webs of economic and social dependency' that operated vertically as well as horizontally.⁹³ In line with other sets of household accounts, Joyce's manuscript lists items of trade credit, small impromptu loans and the advancing of wages—hardly unexpected given her considerable business dealings—but unlike other contemporary households in which the nature of credit provision tended to be co-operative, occasional and community orientated, Joyce's accounts provide evidence of lending on a different level, one that was regular, formalised and extensive.⁹⁴

Nevertheless, both in terms of her gentility and her sex, Joyce's money-lending activities were not uncharacteristic of seventeenth century practice. The gentry, along with the clergy, loomed large as creditors in the work of Holderness, although as Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have pointed out, it was 'the rhythms of family life [that were] dictating their roles as borrowers or as lenders'.⁹⁵ Furthermore, while Holderness described the involvement of wealthy single women like Elizabeth Parkin, who lent in and around the South Yorkshire area in the mid-eighteenth century, some time ago, more recent work by Pam Sharpe has revealed the money-lending activities of another spinster—Hester Pinney—during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Hester, who with her brother and sisters was heavily involved in the running of the family lace business, also acted as banker to country relations and made a considerable number of personal loans.⁹⁶

⁹² B. A. Holderness, 'Credit in a Rural Community, 1660–1800', *Midland History*, 3 (1975–6); idem, 'Credit in English Rural Society before the Nineteenth Century, with special reference to the period 1650–1720', *Agricultural History Review*, 24 (1976).

⁹³ C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1998), 97.

⁹⁴ The Fell family of Swarthmoor Hall, for example, borrowed more money on bond than they lent, and frequently extended informal small-scale sums without interest for a week or a few weeks at a time. Penney, ed., *Sarah Fell*, passim.

⁹⁵ Holderness, 'Credit in English Rural Society', 102; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 125–7. The 'rhythms of life' may have been especially pertinent in the case of women, who, as spinsters and widows, were in control of their own capital. Katherine Freeman's will indicates that she, like Joyce, had money out on loan, both secured and unsecured; HAS, will of Katherine Freeman. See also B. A. Holderness, 'Widows in pre-industrial society: an essay upon their economic functions', in R. M. Smith, ed., *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle* (Cambridge, 1984).

⁹⁶ P. Sharpe, 'A Woman's Worth: A Case Study of Capital Accumulation in Early Modern England', *Parergon*, 19 (2002); idem, 'Dealing With Love: the Ambiguous Independence of the Single Woman in Early Modern England', *Gender and History*, II (1999); B. A. Holderness, 'Elizabeth Parkin and her investments, 1733–66: aspects of the Sheffield money market in the eighteenth century', *Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society*, 10 (1979). Married women could also be involved in the business of lending. Between the 1620s and the 1640s Hester

Moreover, quantitative studies of single women's probate documents have revealed that while richer single women were clearly best-placed to offer credit, they were not the only ones to be doing so. Material from across five English counties indicates that single women with relatively minor amounts of capital—sometimes less than £5—were in the business of lending for profit.⁹⁷

The taking of interest was not a new phenomenon in the early modern period, but there were significant shifts in the nature of legal and social attitudes towards it. Of primary importance was the nature of usury itself. Conservatives like Mosse, for example, were at pains to explain the distinction between the illegality of usury and the legality of interest: 'usurie is an overplus or gaine taken more then was lent; interest is never gaine or overplus above the principall, but a recompence demaunded and due for the damage that is taken, or the gaine that is hindered through lending'.⁹⁸ Set at a rate of 10 per cent, 'forbearance' or 'recompence' had therefore been permissible during the reign of Henry VIII. During the reigns of Edward and Mary, however, all interest appears to have been considered usurious: no one was allowed to 'lend or forbear any sum of money for any manner of usury or increase to be received or hoped for other than the sum lent'.⁹⁹ With the introduction of the Act against Usury of 1571, the scene once again was set to change, as Elizabeth sought to revive the statute introduced by her father. Instead of re-instating the rate of forbearance, however, the statute effectively, though unwittingly, encouraged an expansion in interest-bearing lending, by initiating the emergence of a distinction between acceptable 'use' and unacceptable 'usury'. For while it re-instituted the ecclesiastical punishment of loss of triple the principal for contracts carrying rates of more than 10 per cent interest on the one hand, on the other, it allowed contracts with rates of 10 per cent interest or less to be punished by forfeit of the interest only. Though still *de jure* illegal, the effect of the act was *de facto* to encourage lenders to set the market interest rate at 10 per cent, in order to maximise

Temple of Stowe in Buckinghamshire used legal advisors (predominantly in London) and male members of kin (particularly two sons in law) to keep herself apprised of the debts owed by her husband and son. In return she lent these 'agents' sums of one or two hundred pounds. I am grateful to my colleague Dr A. L. Capern in the Department of History, University of Hull, for this insight.

⁹⁷ J. Spicksley, "'Fly with a duck in thy mouth": single women as sources of credit in seventeenth century England', *Social History*, 32, 2 (May, 2007).

⁹⁸ Cited in E. Kerridge, *Usury, Interest and the Reformation* (Ashgate, 2002), 59. Mosse was writing in 1595.

⁹⁹ 5 & 6 Edward 6. c. 20.

profit but avoid risking the loss of principal.¹⁰⁰ In addition, it was clear that there were to be exceptions. John Jewel, for example, though opposed to liberalising the usury laws in the passage of the 1571 Act, nevertheless claimed that in canon and common law loaning the capital of orphans, widows, madmen or other incapacitated persons was justified on the grounds that the lenders shared the risk with the borrowers, a key element in the definition of usurious transactions.¹⁰¹ Such a view formed a prominent strand in the usury debate, and proved extremely influential. When in 1571 the Act against Usury finally made the statute books, interest-bearing lending was given explicit legal authority in the case of the Courts of Orphans: the Act allowed payments 'according to the ancient rates or customs of the city of London, or any other city where like order is for the custody of orphans and their goods'.¹⁰²

Moreover, despite the continuing illegality of usury, by the late sixteenth century it seemed to some commentators that interest-bearing lending had become acceptable and even commonplace. As William Harrison most famously remarked in 1587, usury was 'perfectly practiced almost by every Christian and so commonly that he is accounted but for a fool that doth lend his money for nothing'.¹⁰³ By 1598, if not before, a notional rate of 10 per cent had become the norm, at least in some areas. George Elie, appearing as a witness before the church court in Canterbury in that year, for example, noted in his deposition that 'it is a usuall thinge to take x li for the use of C li by the yere'.¹⁰⁴ As a form of property, many people—including Calvin—were of the opinion that payment for its use was acceptable. After all, monies made on other types of property in the form of rentals and annuities were considered perfectly legitimate.¹⁰⁵ And though presentment articles continued to enquire as to whether there were in the parish any 'blasphemers, common swearers, drunkards, ribawds, usurers, malicious slanderers, scolds or sowers of discord, or any defamed or vehemently suspected of these crimes', the concept of usurious gain had clearly shifted: by the early seventeenth century interest payments on capital, defined in terms of 'use', were not uncommon, and in Hereford by the 1630s there was an expectation that 'use' would be paid on borrowed money.¹⁰⁶ In line with the existing statutory rate, Joyce

¹⁰⁰ 13 Eliz. I. c. 8.

¹⁰¹ N. Jones, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and Law in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1989), 29.

¹⁰² 13 Eliz. I. c. 8.

¹⁰³ Harrison, *Description of England*, 203.

¹⁰⁴ CCA Canterbury Diocese Probate Court (Archdeaconry and Consistory) Deposition book, DCb/PRC 39/20, 1596–98, f. 140.

¹⁰⁵ J. Calvin, *Epistolae et Responsa* (Geneva, 1575), 355–7, cited in Kerridge, *Usury*, 93–5.

¹⁰⁶ See examples in other printed accounts: J. Harland, ed., *The House and Farm Accounts of the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe Hall ... from September 1582 to October 1621*, Chetham Society, 35,

charged interest at a figure of approximately 8 per cent.¹⁰⁷ She may have occasionally forgone interest—she took nothing extra from Thomas Eaton of Pencombe when he made his payment in July 1641, even though he still owed her the interest that had accumulated for the previous year, and when Peter Nash requested that she reduce his interest payment in February 1646/7 (when he paid back her £200 stock) Joyce agreed to cut it by a figure of £4.¹⁰⁸ But the exactness with which interest was calculated testifies both to its wider acceptance and the expectation of its payment, and those involved in the collection of instalments for other people were especially careful in their reckonings. Joyce recorded receiving interest amounting to ‘1 yeare and 8 months & 10 daies usse for 20li’ in 1641 for example, from Mr John Edmunds, a London scrivener; the money had been obtained on her behalf from Mr Page, one of her metropolitan clients.¹⁰⁹ Nor was this understanding applied solely for the purpose of Joyce’s own financial gain. She also paid interest to Francis Geers the elder on the amount of the promised £800 portion that still remained outstanding after the marriage of Elizabeth Acton to his son Francis, and gave Elizabeth Goulding the interest that had accrued on the part of the sum she had not yet paid her for the purchase of her house in Hereford.

Although the extent to which Joyce could have drawn on the notion of incapacity that informed the contemporary acceptance of interest-bearing lending to justify her actions remains unclear, the concept of investment for single women, at least in their position as daughters, was widely accepted. Wills of higher status fathers in Lincolnshire indicate that some men were already instructing executors to invest capital for their orphan children even before the 1571 Act legitimised such payments, and by the 1600s the practice had become widespread amongst a much broader middling sector of the population.¹¹⁰ Though impossible to substantiate, it seems extremely likely that any capital Joyce had received from her father would have been invested

Part 1 (1856), 209, 217; G. E. Fussell, ed., *Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610–20*, Camden Third Series, 53 (1936), 22; Woodward, ed., *Henry Best*, 176. See BI Archbishop of York's Cause Papers, CPH. 2087, 1635.

¹⁰⁷ According to Robert Butler's scale of interest, the charge for lending £10 for six months should have been 7s 10d, for which Joyce charged 8s. R. Butler, *The Scale of Interest, or Proportional Tables and Breviats shewing the Forbearance and Discompt of any sums of money for any time, from a day to 100 yeares, at the rate of 8 per centum, per Annum* (1633). Other published tables such as Anon., *The Treasurers Almanacke* (1636) suggested 8s be charged per six months to achieve an interest rate of 8 per cent.

¹⁰⁸ f. 19v.

¹⁰⁹ f. 10.

¹¹⁰ J. Spicksley, 'Usury legislation, cash and credit: the development of the female investor in the late Tudor and Stuart periods', *Economic History Review*, 61, 2 (May, 2008).

locally for her by her guardians after his death in 1583. Moreover, on maturity, Joyce, like many of her contemporaries, would have continued to offer this capital in the form of credit. Her inheritance thus provided a natural springboard from which to launch her lending career, and later legacies from Humphrey and Sir Thomas Coningsby would have first helped consolidate, and later strengthen, her financial position. Such lending appears to have become increasingly lucrative. On her first appearance in the parish records of Hereford in 1623, Joyce had been rated at somewhat below the parish maximum, but she steadily and consistently improved her economic situation until by 1630 she was one of the wealthiest inhabitants in Hereford, paying the maximum rateable charge.¹¹¹ In her best year, 1639/40, Joyce's income amounted to £658, and she had over £4, 586 out on loan.¹¹² Moreover, her position remained essentially unchanged at least until 1643, when Joyce was required to pay a fee of £40 to Sir William Waller in his position as head of the invading parliamentary army—only three other households in the city were assessed at this level.¹¹³

Her wealth may have been linked to increased opportunities for investment as further changes in usury legislation served to advance the acceptability of interest-bearing lending. For though the Jacobean Act against Usury of 1624 effectively reduced the statutory rate of interest from 10 to 8 per cent from 1625, it also made the cost of borrowing cheaper, by restricting the amount a scrivener could charge for drawing up formal credit instruments.¹¹⁴ In Joyce's case, the receipt book confirms that she had been involved in money-lending at the very least since 1626, when Thomas Hackluit, John Duppa and Humphrey East had borrowed the sum of £80 on bond, a secured debt that was nevertheless still outstanding at her death, along with a considerable amount of unpaid interest. Formal or secured debt formed the bulk of her lending. Credit instruments that appear in Joyce's manuscript include bills, bonds, statute debts, mortgages, two examples of pawn and the provision of

¹¹¹ HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5). However, she was relatively wealthy from her first appearance. In the Lay Subsidy Assessment of 1624 Joyce was assessed at a personal rate of 3s 4d; while several inhabitants were assessed at this rate, only one inhabitant paid the higher rate of 6s 8d. HAS BG11/7/4/46–7, City of Hereford Miscellaneous Papers, 1600–1644.

¹¹² See later, Table 3. As a demonstration of Joyce's purchasing power it is interesting to note that her income of £658 in 1639/40 would have been worth £83,200 in 2009, the latest year for which index figures have been calculated. See Lawrence H. Officer, 'Purchasing Power of British Pounds from 1264 to the Present', Measuring Worth, 2009. URL: <http://www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/> [accessed 8 April 2010]. The figure has been calculated using 1639 as the base year.

¹¹³ Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 31.

¹¹⁴ 21 Jac. I. c.17.

named sureties.¹¹⁵ Large sums more especially were secured on mortgages, including the £200 owed by John Birt of Sutton, the £300 owed by Philip Baker of Marden, and the £800 due from John Hackluit that was set against his Wharton rent. Lesser debts could be similarly contracted, if the debtor chose to offer land or property as collateral. James Newton of Bodenham owed the considerably smaller amount of £50 on mortgage, for example, and Philip Wallis only £32 10s. As a form of security, the mortgage had considerable advantages, for during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries courts were especially strict in their application of mortgage redemption.¹¹⁶ As an alternative, however, the traditional urban mercantile instruments of statute debt, as held by Thomas Hackluit of Kintley and Peter Nash (to whom Joyce had sold the Free Town farm), also had much to commend them. Statute merchant and statute staple, which were essentially debts on bond, taken and sealed before the chief magistrate or mayor of a town, allowed the creditor to seize the debtor's property if the debt was not repaid on time.¹¹⁷

Bonds, in either a simple or conditional format, were also employed by Joyce as instruments of debt, although the primary function of a bond was simply that of a general deed of contract, 'whereby any man confesseth himselfe by his writing orderly made, sealed and delivered to give any thing unto him with whom he so Contracteth'.¹¹⁸ Bills or obligations, which operated in a similar fashion, also appear in the pages of the accounts, for such instruments related more specifically, if not exclusively, to transfers of cash.¹¹⁹ Finally, Joyce also referred to a number of debtors who had provided named guarantors in the case of default. Some like Edward Lacon only provided one guarantor, but occasionally there were two. Edmund Aston and Christopher Higgins, for example, both stood surety for the £50 debt of Mr Sellwin, Aston being bound for £30 of the debt and Higgins the remaining £20.

¹¹⁵ Richard Howorth pawned a lease against a debt of £15—see f. 2; Widow Coocke pawned her wedding ring—f. 21.

¹¹⁶ B. Coward, *The Stuart Age England 1603–1714*, second edition (1994), 47.

¹¹⁷ See W. West, *Symbolæography: Which may be termed the Art, Description or Image of Instruments* (1592), sects. 151–5.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, sect. 31. Conditional bonds were usually set at twice the amount of the original loan, with the total becoming forfeit if the loan was not repaid on time. Joyce does not appear to have used them extensively, although William Jeffreys' lists of outstanding debtors in 1650 and 1651 reveal that a number of the debts were in a conditional format: Sir Robert Whitney, John Carpenter and Thomas Gough had been conditionally bound to Joyce in 1638 for the sum of £200 to pay £104, for example; ff. 72v, 73.

¹¹⁹ A bill or obligation, according to William West, was 'a deede whereby the obligor doth knowlege himselfe to owe unto the obligee a certaine summe of mony or other thing', and, like bonds, could be drawn up with or without penalty. See West, *Symbolæography*, sects. 146–7.

The specific nature of the debt instrument was not recorded in every case. References to mortgages and statute debts were usually signalled in the accounts, probably because the latter especially were less common than the regularly occurring examples of bills and bonds, but even in William Jeffreys' final listings of post-mortem debts due to his aunt 'by bill or bond', only those on bond were specifically identified in the manuscript.¹²⁰ And regardless of the method by which Joyce secured her lending, the type of credit she most commonly offered appears, at least initially, to have taken the form of a short-term agreement, although without access to the bonds it is impossible to confirm whether this was in fact the case.¹²¹ Interest payments were calculated over three, six or twelve-month periods, with a six-monthly arrangement being by far the most common. The stock or capital was then repaid at the end of the agreed period, and the bond handed back to the client, unless he or she wished to renew it for a further period of time. On some occasions, part of the debt only was repaid, while on others, more capital was requested; in either case the agreement was renegotiated and the loan extended. Debts could exist for a number of years, as the lists of debtors drawn up by William, her nephew and executor, at the end of her life, reveals. And despite the short-term nature of the initial contracts, the loans Joyce made during the period of the accounts appear to have been outstanding for between one year (or less) and over twenty. The biggest proportion of debts—38 per cent—did feature in her account book for one year only, although this includes debts that were renegotiated the following year if the amount had changed. Nevertheless around 10 per cent of the loans seem to have been outstanding throughout the entire accounting period.¹²² Figure 2 reveals the estimated length and number of the loans Joyce made from 1638 to 1647, the last year for which annual figures are available.

Furthermore, as Figure 3 demonstrates, the bulk of her loans were for £50 or less. Joyce's receipt book does record the existence of a number of substantial loans, but 81 per cent of her lending involved amounts of £50 or less, with 53 per cent of the debts falling between £1 and £20. Such figures, which suggest a prudent lender, may not have been atypical. Thomas Sutton, the wealthy Tudor and Stuart money-lender who left the majority of his fortune to endow the almshouse and school of Charterhouse, was owed nearly

¹²⁰ f. 72v.

¹²¹ Formal lending arrangements did not necessarily specify a particular date for repayment, binding the debtor to repay on demand rather than at a given time. See for example, HAS BG11/2/24 Pleas in action for debt, assault and slander 1653–5, f. 37; HAS BG11/2/24 Pleas in action for debt, assault and slander, debt 1652–4, f. 70.

¹²² This is an estimate of the actual rather than intended length of the loans from the entries giving details of interest payments—including those that were overdue—and the corresponding debts outstanding at Joyce's death.

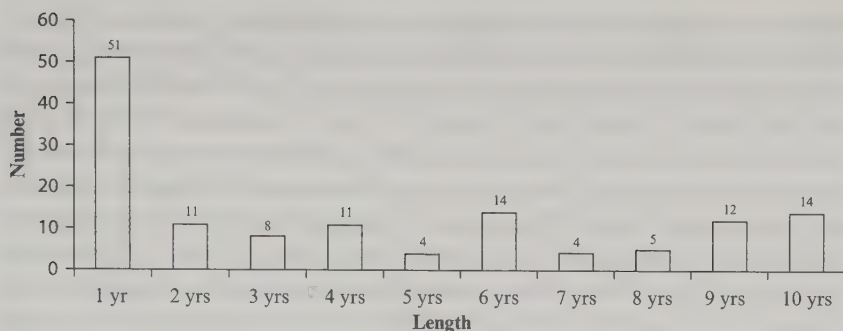


Figure 2. Estimated length and number of Joyce's loans, 1638-47. Source: *Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys*.

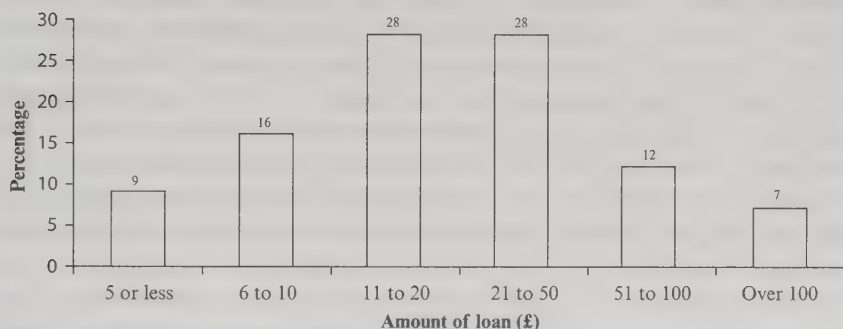


Figure 3. Size of Joyce's loans, 1638-47. Source: *Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys*.

£47,000 at his death, but at least 41 of the 130 obligations were for debts of £50 or less, and many had been extended year on year by mutual agreement.¹²³ As Sutton's accounts reveal, he not only extended large sums amongst the gentry and nobility, but also lent relatively small sums of money to tradesmen and small farmers.

Joyce too lent her capital out on a variety of social levels, counting among her debtors members of the rural aristocracy and the gentry, urban officials (including mayors and aldermen), individuals from the professional and clerical sector, and a range of craftsmen and tradesmen. Women, too, figured in

¹²³N. R. Shipley, 'Thomas Sutton: Tudor-Stuart Moneylender', *Business History Review*, 50 (1976), 467.

her credit portfolio, but their economic relationship with Joyce was qualitatively and quantitatively different from that of their male counterparts. Only 8 of the 145 debtors listed in Joyce's accounts were female, and of those, only Joan Rod alias Norman and Elizabeth Chippe (bound with her brother Thomas) owed over £10.¹²⁴ Most, like Isabell Burghill, who had borrowed £8 five years previously 'gratis', appear to have been granted informal loans with no set date for repayment. Women had co-operated in the small or domestic loan market during the medieval period and work by Beverly Lemire and others has highlighted the continuing value of small-scale informal credit to the success of the household during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹²⁵ There is some evidence of this cooperation in Joyce's accounts: she paid Maud Pritchett 16d in May 1644, for example, money the latter had lent Elizabeth Newton 'to b[u]y smale things in to the howse' in Hereford, presumably during Joyce's absence.¹²⁶ Joyce also borrowed from a number of women, including Anne Davies, Elizabeth Goulding, Margaret Collins and Alice Williams, and men too occasionally lent her money.¹²⁷ Nevertheless, unlike Sarah Fell, whose borrowing was principally informal and interest-free, Joyce's debt took the same format as her credit, so that payment of interest formed an integral part of the agreement. A good example of this is the £10 she had borrowed from the poor stock of Neen Sollars—bequeathed to them by her half-brother Humphrey—for which she paid 8s per half

¹²⁴ Amy Froide found that most of the single women in Southampton who specified their debtors had loaned money to local men and male relatives. Froide, *Never Married*, 135. For a list of persons recorded as Joyce's debtors, please see Appendix II.

¹²⁵ E. Clark, 'Debt Litigation in a Late Medieval English Vill', in J. A. Raftis, ed., *Pathways to Medieval Peasants*, 2 (Toronto, 1981), 263; M. McIntosh, 'Money-lending on the periphery of London, 1300–1600' *Albion*, 20, (1988), 562; B. Lemire, 'Petty Pawns and Informal Lending: Gender and the Transformation of Small-Scale Credit in England, circa 1600–1800' in K. Bruland and P. K. O'Brien, eds., *From Family Firms to Corporate Capitalism* (Oxford, 1998), 117, 122–4; M. Bogucka, 'Women and Credit Operations in Polish Towns in Early Modern Times (XVIth–XVIIth centuries), *Journal of European Economic History*, 32 (2003), 485.

¹²⁶ f. 58v.

¹²⁷ She borrowed from Richard Wickton, John Collins and Matthias Rufford. In Rufford's case, Joyce had promised him £100 as a gift in July 1642, but only being able to give him £50 at that time, had subsequently paid him 40s interest on the outstanding £50; ff. 50, 55v. Rufford extended capital to other debtors. In the 1650s he brought a complaint against John Hackluit as executor of the will of John Hackluit, presumably his father, in which Rufford claimed damages of 40s for the non-payment of a debt of £20—secured by bond—that he had extended to Hackluit in 1638. HAS BG11/2/24, Mayor's Court, pleas in actions for debt, assault and slander, 1653–5, f. 37. Rufford may have gained additional debtors upon Joyce's retirement and appears to have enjoyed a measure of success. In the mid-1650s, when he lodged the complaint against Hackluit, he had achieved the status of a gentleman.

year.¹²⁸ Not all her creditors charged the full amount however. Alice Williams took a reduced fee from Joyce when she renewed her bond with Alice's daughter in March 1646/7, giving her 5s—according to Joyce's reckoning—with which 'to b[u]y wine'.¹²⁹

Whether Joyce was lending informally or formally, to female friends or male acquaintances, what linked Joyce to her borrowers, and what served to encourage her to lend, was essentially a network of trust. The names of her debtors appear either as trading or business contacts, as relatives, as friends or as neighbours. This pattern is reflected in the location of Joyce's borrowers as outlined in Table 2. Of the 108 debtors that can be identified by location, 18 per cent lived over fifteen miles away, a further 46 per cent resided at between six and fifteen miles distant, and only 36 per cent lived within five miles of Hereford, although it seems likely that many of those without a specified location would also have been resident in or around the city.¹³⁰ Clearly these clusters were linked to her personal and business interests: firstly her local dealings in the city; secondly her estates of Wharton, Broadward and for a short time the Free Town farm at Tarrington, and her links with Garnons (where she fled during the parliamentary occupation of Hereford), all of which initiated dealings with individuals from between six and fifteen miles away; and finally her contact with the metropolis, where Joyce also had a number of borrowers. Only a third of the debtors that can be identified by place or residence were living in urban areas, but towns remained important focal points in credit networks, providing sources of credit for their rural hinterlands, as well as each other.

Somewhat surprisingly, Joyce does not appear as a major creditor to members of her family, even though she was related to over seventy individuals in her manuscript either by birth or marriage. Only 10 (7 per cent) of the 145 debtors that appear in her accounts are listed as relatives (cousins) although

¹²⁸ The first entry appears on f. 32. Monies left in wills and testaments for the use of the poor were frequently let out at interest by the church. The churchwardens' accounts for the parish of All Saints in 1638, for example, note that they had received the statutory 8s in interest for the £5 lent to Richard Dyar, the same for the £5 Richard Bullock had borrowed, and 12s from Christopher Smith 'for the interest of 10li for 3 quarters of a year'. HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5). In other areas, fines for non attendance at church also formed part of the stock that was let out for the benefit of the poor. The printed *Articles To Be Enquired Of Within The Archdeaconry Of Yorke. By the Church-wardens and Sworne-men in the Visitation holden by the Arch-deacon of the said Arch-deaconry. In the year of our Lord God, 1635* (London 1635), enquired as to whether 'the forfeiture of twelve pence, for absence from Church, appointed by Statute, to the use of the poore, be taken and levied by the Church wardens, and imploied according to the said Statute'. BI, Archbishop of York's Cause Papers, C.P.H. 2087, 1635.

¹²⁹ f. 67.

¹³⁰ All distances are approximate and have been calculated as the crow flies. Assuming the debtors without specified locations were from Hereford changes the comparative percentages to: 0–5 miles 53%; 6–15 miles 34%; over 15 miles 13%.

Table 2. Location of Joyce's borrowers

Distance from Hereford	Number of debtors
0–5 miles	39 (36%)
6–15 miles	50 (46%)
Over 15 miles	19 (18%)
Total	108 (100%)

Source: *Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys*

this excludes the payment she was obliged as guarantor to make on behalf of Sir Thomas Coningsby's son, Fitzwilliam, when he defaulted on a debt.¹³¹ In this, she appears somewhat unusual. In Holderness' work up to 40 per cent of creditors appear to have been extending money to their relations, and Wrightson and Levine's study of Terling found that 17 per cent of the debt and credit relationships within the village were kin-related.¹³² Moreover, tentative estimates taken from a broader sample suggest that the proportion of single women lending money to a member of their immediate family or wider kin network would have been at least a third.¹³³ Nevertheless, kin connections remained at the heart of many early modern economic relationships—many of Joyce's borrowers, as Robert Tittler has revealed, 'if not related directly to her, turn out often to be related to each other'.¹³⁴

Another significant feature to arise from the analysis of Joyce's receipt book is the timing and method of interest payments, which occasionally included the repayment of capital. In terms of the method by which interest

¹³¹ Trying to reconstruct a list of Joyce's borrowers is complicated by the fact that interest payments are often made by relatives, friends, agents or individuals standing as surety on the loan. I have therefore included only those that I can clearly identify as debtors in their own right, and those that were paying off a loan for which they stood bound as guarantor. Joyce's payment on behalf of Fitzwilliam Coningsby appears in the codicil to her will: FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies. The eldest surviving son of Sir Thomas Coningsby, Fitzwilliam was Member of Parliament for Hereford from 1620–22 and again from 1640–41. He was also High Steward of Leominster from (?)1636 to 1649 and from 1660 to his death in 1666. He fought as a colonel in the king's army and was captured by Waller at Hereford on 23 April 1643. His lands were seized and he begged to compound, his fine eventually being set at £3, 600. This brought him and his family considerable distress, so that he resorted to petitioning Parliament in 1653 on behalf of his starving family and himself. Williams, *Herefordshire Members*, 44.

¹³² Holderness, 'Widows', 441; K. Wrightson and D. Levine, *Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling 1525–1760* (1979; Oxford edition, 1995), 100. See also P. Spufford, 'Long-Term Rural Credit in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England: the Evidence of Probate Accounts', in T. Arkell, N. Evans and N. Goose, eds., *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000), 223–6.

¹³³ Spicksley, "'Fly with a duck'", 198.

¹³⁴ Tittler, 'Joyce Jefferies and the Possibilities of Spinsterhood', 187. Tittler suggested that at least 40 per cent of Joyce's borrowers were related to other borrowers.

was paid, one of the surprises of the account book is the frequency with which debtors arranged for someone other than themselves to make their payments. Longer distance borrowers would clearly have needed to make special arrangements for the transfer of instalments, and some at least made their payments along with other business transactions. Matthew Packe of London made his payments via Joyce's London tailor, Richard Stockwall, for instance, and Joyce paid John Edmunds, the London scrivener, the sum of 10s for acting as her agent in the capital. Some local debtors too preferred to send their payments via Joyce's agents, namely Matthias Rufford and more latterly, John Berry. Others employed the services of their own representatives, often members of their family, in the delivery of their dues: John Wanklin's use was paid by his father, for example; that of John Weaver and a number of other clients arrived via brothers; and the three daughters of Francis Spencer—Katherine, Anne and Joyce—all took it in turn to deliver their father's outstanding interest. Wives too frequently brought payments of interest, and more especially in the absence of their husbands. Both Dorothy Duppa and Alice Bullock conveyed monies that were due from their husbands on more than one occasion, and when Wallop Brabazon was away during the Earl of Stamford's occupation of Hereford in 1642, his wife made it her responsibility to deliver his six-month instalment of interest to Joyce.¹³⁵ The accounts imply that the majority of payments—apart from those made to Joyce's agents—were made to her personally at her current place of residence, but other locations were possible. Eleanor Wallwin gave Joyce six months use for her husband's debt at Hereford fair, and John Berry received £8 forbearance and £20 stock in part of a £50 debt from John Weaver at Wigmore fair, recorded in Joyce's accounts in May 1647.¹³⁶ This practice continued an associative tradition between credit and the fair in Hereford that can be traced back to medieval Jewish money-lenders, and one that was also a feature of repayment arrangements in other areas.¹³⁷

The extent to which Joyce took a pro-active approach to the collection of her cash is difficult to establish. On one occasion early in 1645 she did record sending Matthias Rufford out in the (unsuccessful as it turned out) pursuance

¹³⁵ The fact that many wives of borrowers brought interest payments to Joyce suggests that they may have been the source of information about her credit provision, and may even have solicited funds on behalf of their spouses. Certainly women were involved; James Newton, for example, sent his daughter to borrow 40s on his behalf; f. 70v.

¹³⁶ f. 20.

¹³⁷ J. Hillaby, 'The Hereford Jewry, 1179–1290 (third and final part): Aaron le Blund and the last decades of the Hereford Jewry, 1253–90', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 46 (1990), 445. In other regions too, the fair was a place for such transactions: Thomas Conam of Trusthorpe listed several debts he was owed that were to be paid 'at Spilsbie fair next'. LA LCC 1601/69, Thomas Conam.

of outstanding debts, but most debtors organised the delivery of their own instalments, even if they were not always punctual. Of 84 debts in which a due date for the payment of interest could be established in the first year of Joyce's receipt book, by far the majority were paid after the stated date: 4 per cent (3) arrived early; 13 per cent (11) were received on time; and the remaining 83 per cent (70) were delivered after the due date. However, of the 70 debtors that were late in making their payment, almost half (44 per cent) paid within one month, well over a third (39 per cent) made a payment that was between one and three months late, and only 17 per cent were over three months late in clearing their interest. This late payment pattern appears to have been the norm even before the onset of hostilities in 1642, but could only have deteriorated under the pressures of war. Joyce attempted to militate against complete loss of income by taking part payments whenever possible, and goods were sometimes accepted in lieu of cash. She reduced the amount of John Bradford's interest relative to the value of the plough timber he had supplied to her, for example, while Philip Wallis paid his use or rent for the five acres in Challow field through a combination of three commodities—20s in cash, a black colt worth 20s and a hogshead of cider valued at 12s. On several occasions both interest and capital stock went unpaid for several years at a time, and on a few occasions Joyce took recourse to the courts: Edmund Aston offers one example; John Duppa another. She was also involved in lengthy legal proceedings against both William Harris of Broadward and John Hackluit of Wharton in her attempts to recover outstanding debts, and her appearance as a plaintiff in the Mayor's Court in 1634 confirms the fact that though prosecution of defaulting debtors may not have been a significant feature of her life, it was an ongoing concern.¹³⁸

In writing her will in 1648, Joyce apologised to the daughters of her niece Anne Nott for being unable to endow them with more substantial legacies—'my fortune hath beene so broken that I cannott enlarge these bequests as I would'.¹³⁹ Joyce's failure to collect the interest payments on her capital or even recover the capital itself contributed significantly to her declining economic status after the onset of hostilities, although the payment of £800 to Elizabeth Acton that was promised on the occasion of her marriage in 1643 served to worsen Joyce's liquidity, especially since she had to borrow £180 in order to complete the transaction. From a comparison of the total receipts and disbursements recorded in her accounts, and set out in Table 3 below, it is clear that after her best year in 1639/40 the pattern of her finances was skewed much more heavily towards loss than profit. Indeed the economic dif-

¹³⁸ HAS BG11/2/22, Mayor's Court Book, 1633–4. On 2 June 1634 Joyce appeared in a debt case against John Powell for the sum of £10.

¹³⁹ FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies.

faculties she encountered after 1642 may have been a significant factor in her decision to leave Hereford—the move to Ham Castle certainly helped reduce her level of expenditure.

Table 3. Summary of Joyce Jeffreys' receipts and disbursements as recorded in her accounts at c. St Mary's Eve, 1638/9–1647/8

Year end (St Mary's Eve)	Total receipts (£)	Total disbursements (£)	Profit (£)
1638/9	543	510	33
1639/40	658	397	261
1640/1	443	572	–129
1641/2	528	521	7
1642/3	525	589	–64
1643/4	383	576	–193
1644/5	264	435	–171
1645/6	320	265	55
1646/7	366 ¹⁴⁰	427	–61
1647/8 (<i>incomplete</i>)	(285)	(688)	
Total	4030	4292	–262

Source: *Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys*

The mid-century conflict also appears to have marked the beginning of the end of Joyce's career as a substantial provider of credit. Apart from a small informal loan of 40s to James Newton in 1647, and £20 that she lent to Parliament, Joyce recorded no new loans after 1643; her move to Ham Castle thus coincided with her withdrawal from the formal credit market. How much of her capital had been lost is difficult to establish. An estimate—based on the interest payments and the amount of stock recorded—suggests that in her best year, 1639/40, Joyce had extended over £4800. However, her stock appears to have declined thereafter, along with the interest that was paid on it, until by 1647/8 only around £3000 can be accounted for. Between then and her death some capital may well have been repaid, although how much is impossible to estimate. In any case, William, her executor, listed outstanding debts of only £845 14s 8d in October, 1650, which included a number of bonds not actually due for repayment until that year.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ This figure excludes the £200 stock repaid by Peter Nash, since Joyce did not usually include stock in her calculation of receipts.

¹⁴¹ By June of the following year this figure had been reduced to £664 16s; ff. 72v–73. The totals include all the outstanding debts visible on the schedules, even though the entry relating to Mr Northrone in 1650 has been partially crossed out.

III. CONFLICT IN HEREFORD

While the failure of Joyce to collect interest or recover capital appears to have been a major factor in the decline of her fortune, the costs of military occupation, civil and national defence, war damage and sequestration all added considerably to her financial difficulties. Hereford, positioned close to the Marches, was largely royalist in its sympathies. There were notable exceptions, including the passionate parliamentarian Robert Harley of Brampton Bryan, and disgruntlement with Laudian practices was evident in the city from early in 1642. Writing to her son Edward, away at college in Oxford, in the February of 1642, Lady Brilliana Harley—Robert's wife—noted that 'in Hariford, they have turned the tabell in the cathedroll, and taken away the cops and bassons and all such things'.¹⁴² Nevertheless, when Charles raised his standard at Nottingham Castle on 22 August 1642, and England finally sank into conflict, Hereford declared itself royalist. The king had been preparing himself financially for war for some time, by extending the payment of ship money—originally a port tax—to the country at large, and making efforts to improve the militia. As the threat of fighting deepened, and the county was called upon to bear the cost of supplying militia training and equipment, Charles Hopkinson has suggested that resentment and tax evasion was widespread, but Joyce—clearly a royalist sympathiser—appears as a model citizen. In 1638, for example, she recorded the payment of £3 ship money that was due for her Hereford house and gardens, and a further 2s 6d for her grange land near Leominster; additional instalments were paid for the years 1639 and 1640.¹⁴³ She also contributed 20d for each day John Trahern, her 'citty sowldier', spent in military training between 1640 and 1643, in addition to paying 13s 4d towards the instruction of Humphrey Matts of Wharton, a sum that was levied by the Justices of the Peace on her Broadward estate.¹⁴⁴

Other soldiers benefited at Joyce's expense. The increasing levels of militarisation encouraged a higher than usual number of soldiers to appear on the streets of the city. In September of 1639 Joyce gave 2s to 'a strainge sowldier, with a blue fether in his hatt, that said he cam from Barrwick' and the following year when loyal supporters of the king left Hereford to join the fight against the Scots, she presented a number of local men with a cash gift as a token of her support: her cousin William Coningsby received 1s; to Miles Hackluit, the young son of one of her debtors, she gave 2s 6d; and John

¹⁴² T. T. Lewis, ed., *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley, wife of Sir Robert Harley, of Brampton Bryan, Knight of the Bath*, Camden Society, 58 (1854), February 17, 1641/2, 148.

¹⁴³ ff. 25v, 26, 31, 33v, 39.

¹⁴⁴ f. 28. The remainder of the cost for training Matts was paid by Thomas Nicolls.

Lincoln, who left with Captain Button, got 6d.¹⁴⁵ There appear to have been few problems in Hereford during 1641, but the atmosphere remained tense and Joyce, keen to keep herself abreast of the news, bought 'a booke of the Earle of Straforths arainment and his pickture & the Arch Bushop Lawds, and som other picktures of their sect'.¹⁴⁶ By 1642 however, the strain was beginning to tell. In April, Joyce recorded giving some soldiers that had 'shott off' at her window 1s in cash and some beer, presumably in an attempt to curb their restlessness, and when the Earl of Essex left London for Northampton and the West, the city of Hereford had to look to its defences.¹⁴⁷

Under the Earl of Essex, the parliamentary army took first Northampton and then Worcester, before pushing on to Hereford. Henry, Earl of Stamford, was detailed to capture the city, and though the weather was inclement—'by reason of the raine and snowe, and extremity of cold'—little could be done to halt his progress.¹⁴⁸ Hereford was largely unprepared to offer effective resistance. Having suffered some decay during the early years of James' reign, at least two of the city's gates had undergone repair. Eign Gate had been patched up in the autumn of 1614, and in 1619 the city restored St Owen's Gate so that it could house the magazine needed by the local militia.¹⁴⁹ The city had also attempted to improve its defences by other means, for Joyce recorded the payment of 20s in September 1642 'towards the biinge of armor and weapons & artilyery, to streinthen the citty against the Parliament'.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, these defences remained essentially inadequate, and after standing for two hours 'in dirt and water up to the midde legge', outside the walls, Stamford and his army proceeded to enter the city on 30 September 1642 through Byster's Gate at the invitation of the mayor, who had been persuaded to capitulate without a fight. Stamford immediately took up residence at the Bishop's Palace, but the occupation was short-lived.¹⁵¹ Having spent three weeks securing the Worcester hinterland, Essex was forced to move in order to intercept the king en route from Shrewsbury to London. Increasingly

¹⁴⁵ ff. 34v, 37v, 38v.

¹⁴⁶ f. 46. See also the footnote for the entry concerning Stafford in the text.

¹⁴⁷ f. 49.

¹⁴⁸ N. Wharton, 'Letters from a Subaltern Officer of the Earl of Essex's Army, written in the Summer and Autumn of 1642', ed., H. Ellis, *Archaeologia*, 35 (1853), Letter 9, 331.

¹⁴⁹ Cited in R. Shoesmith, *The Civil War in Hereford* (Almeley, 1995), 35–6.

¹⁵⁰ Joyce had also arranged for the armour at Broadward to be repaired in readiness for battle; f. 35.

¹⁵¹ Wharton, 'Letters', Letter 9, 331–2. The three twenty-four foot bays of the twelfth century great hall of the Bishop's Palace at Hereford still survive, along with the nail head decoration and roll moulding on the arches of the arcades, which date from c. 1190. J. W. Tonkin, 'The Palaces of the Bishop of Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, Part 1, 42 (1976), 60–61.

isolated and short of supplies, Stamford had no option but to leave Hereford for Gloucester on 14 December, and the city was once again free from parliamentary control.¹⁵²

Joyce, however, did not wait for the parliamentary army to arrive before fleeing the city. Having received news of the advance she decided to vacate her home in Hereford on 23 September 1642, two days before Essex took Worcester, and made for the house of her cousin Penreece in Kilkinson, about ten miles to the west of Hereford. She moved on quickly to Garnons¹⁵³, and the home of Francis Geers senior, but if Joyce had believed she would be more secure there than in Hereford, she was to be quickly disillusioned; having established himself in the Bishop's Palace, Stamford ordered the pillaging of any property held by royalist sympathisers. Singling out, amongst others, the goods of Francis Geers for confiscation, Captain Hammond, with his 'barbarous company', proceeded to plunder Geers' property, carrying away in the process two horses, some cash, and a large quantity of linen, all of which belonged to Joyce.¹⁵⁴ Francis Geers junior had to depart hastily for Wales with a small loan from Joyce after one man was killed, and—clearly distressed—Joyce herself left the same day for the house of Mr John Carpenter about a mile away at Hinton, where she remained until December 14, when Stamford finally marched out of Hereford.

At this point she returned to Garnons, and after spending Christmas and the New Year with Francis, set about recovering belongings she had lost from Hereford and Garnons. Joyce had managed to remove some of her goods from her house in Hereford before leaving the city, paying Edward Stefens to carry trunks, boxes, beds and bedding to Kilkinson, and was at least partially successful in recovering others. Goody Lawrence had kept some of her clothes and those of Elizabeth Acton, and Joyce also managed to reclaim '4 cariges of my boords from the Lords Stanffords lodging at Mrs Wardins howse in Heriford'. More of the wood that Stamford had removed from her house in Hereford was retrieved from the 'cannon backhowse', and Matthias

¹⁵² Shoesmith, *Civil War*, 36, 41; A. J. Hopper, 'Grey, Henry, first earl of Stamford (c. 1599–1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11537>]; J. Morrill, 'Devereux Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004 [accessed 31 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566>].

¹⁵³ I have as yet found no images of any part of the seventeenth century house at Garnons. According to Pevsner, the present house was built around 1860, as an addition to a house designed by William Atkinson and begun in 1815. In Atkinson's time, a gabled Elizabethan or Jacobean house stood to the left of the latter, only to be replaced by the former in 1860. However, Pevsner describes the siting of Garnons as 'superb', positioned as it is in Mansell Gamage, which looks out over the Golden Valley towards the Black Mountains. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (Penguin, Harmondsworth 1963), 249.

Rufford had managed to secure the return of Joyce's two black beaver hats and two gold bands that had been looted from Garnons.¹⁵⁵ In what was probably a shrewd move, Joyce did not return to Hereford during 1643. Perhaps because the defensive capability of the city had not been sufficiently tested, the authorities in Hereford did nothing to improve security after the departure of the Earl of Stamford in 1642, and, armed with this knowledge, William Waller, one of the most successful of the early parliamentary generals, placed Hereford within his sights. A military force raised by Lord Herbert of Raglan went out to counter Waller's advance, and from the safety of her temporary home at Garnons, Joyce noted the departure of the men of Little Mansell 'and all this contrey of Heryford shere' for Ross on 27 March. But Raglan's army was routed and Waller arrived outside the gates of Hereford at dawn on April 25; once again, occupation was relatively unproblematic. According to the account of a Gloucester minister:

To help forward the capture of the City, Massie drew up two sakers [cannons] in a straight line against Wide Marsh gate, not without extreme hazard of being shot from the walls, and himself gave fire, and the first cannon-shot entered the gate and took an officer's head from his shoulders and slew some besides. More shots were made, each of which scoured the street and so alarmed the enemy that they presently sounded a parley which was entertained by Sir W. Waller.¹⁵⁶

Perhaps fearing a repeat of the looting that had happened at Garnons the previous year, Joyce appears to have spent one night away from Garnons at the home of Goodwife Stevens in April 'for feare of the sowldiers', paying Thomas Rowles of Hinton to transport 'a load of stuff to his howse from Garnons'.¹⁵⁷ But Waller, too, was unable to hold Hereford indefinitely. Though he had been successful in eliciting the speedy capitulation of the city, he did not have ability to hold both it and the surrounding countryside for any substantial length of time. On 18 May 1643, only three weeks after he had entered Hereford, Waller and his forces left the city for Gloucester, pursued by Royalists who also laid siege to Brampton Bryan with the help of Irish reinforcements.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Waller had successfully extracted cash and goods from the inhabitants and taken several notable individuals prisoner, including Fitzwilliam Coningsby, who had fought as a colonel in the king's army.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, though Joyce may have been safely lodged outside the city, Waller's attack had resulted in some minor damage at her house.

¹⁵⁴ f. 51.

¹⁵⁵ ff. 52, 50v, 51v.

¹⁵⁶ Cited in Shoesmith, *Civil War*, 49.

¹⁵⁷ f. 54.

¹⁵⁸ C. Hopkinson, *Herefordshire Under Arms: A Military History of the County* (Bromyard, 1985), 85–6. The Irish reinforcements are noted in Joyce's manuscript—f. 15.

She was obliged to pay John Baddam 4d for mending the tile over her 'new closett, which Sir William Wallers >sowldiers< brake downe to shote at Widdmarsh Gate, when he beseeged the citty of Heriford'.¹⁶⁰

Hereford remained in the hands of the Royalists for two years after the departure of Waller in 1643, but the costs of conflict continued. Joyce recorded payments for watchmen at Widemarsh gate, and contributed 4s on two occasions towards the cost of maintaining watch fires at the gates of the city. There were other financial losses to endure. Stamford had suffered tremendous problems throughout the entire period of his occupation in feeding his considerable army, and much of the cost therefore had of necessity fallen on the local inhabitants. Six of Joyce's sheep had gone to provide food for Stamford at the Bishop's Palace in October 1642, and during her absence soldiers had been quartered in her house in Hereford. In reckoning her total outgoings for 1642, therefore, Joyce rather reproachfully entered the following:

Spent in my howse in Heryford the whole yeare abowt,
ending ont [sic] St Mary Eve, 1642; I went out of towne
the 30 of September, 1642 & cam no more that yeare,
but had many souldiers of his [Stamford's] & Sir William Wallers billeted
at my howse in Heriford for nothing; som spent: 71li 2s 7d

Her accounts note the billeting of soldiers again in 1643, 1644 and 1645, and regardless of the nature of the troops in occupation, the cost of the hostilities was high. The conduct of both the royalist and the parliamentary forces towards the local population left much to be desired, for troops were paid only irregularly, leaving them little option but to seek out food, horses and horse fodder from the stores of local inhabitants. Moreover, as the war progressed, areas in which control was disputed ended up paying two sets of costs. In Hereford in 1643, for example, the tax levied by the king on the city amounted to a figure of £3, 000 per month, while the parliamentary assessment, though not enforceable, stood at the rate of £437 10s per week.¹⁶¹

Despite offering a generous donation of £50 in December 1642 and 'a fatt bullock worth 6li' to Fitzwilliam Coningsby, who, as governor of Hereford, had local responsibility for the management of royalist troops, Joyce proved considerably more averse to the idea of requisitioning.¹⁶² On 8 May 1644, after the parliamentary troops under Massey had decamped from Gloucester

¹⁵⁹ Williams, *Parliamentary History*, 44.

¹⁶⁰ f. 57.

¹⁶¹ Hopkinson, *Herefordshire Under Arms*, 84.

¹⁶² f. 51v. The Parliamentarians having left Hereford in December, the city was reoccupied by the Royalists, and Fitzwilliam Coningsby made governor. In the spring of 1643 he marched with the Herefordshire levies and the remaining commissioners of the county to join the army of Lord Herbert of Raglan at Highnam near Gloucester, but they were all captured by William Waller. J. Noake, *Notes and Queries for Worcestershire* (London 1856), 138–9.

to Ledbury, the king ordered that Hereford be fortified, and Nicholas Mynne, the newly appointed governor, set about the task of requisitioning timber for the city's defences. But Joyce, who was having none of it, arranged for a carpenter to safeguard her own store of wood:

Gave an honest carpinder, for preserving my
tymber from the Governors knowledge, which
[deletion] sought for tymber to make works to defend Heriford: 1s¹⁶³

Joyce appears to have remained at Garnons until April 1644. She made quarterly payments for her own diet and the diet of her maid, Joyce Simons, between March and September of 1643, and monthly payments for the same between January and April of 1644. There are no payments covering the period between September and Christmas in 1643, and, though Joyce may have forgotten to enter them, the more reasonable explanation would seem to be that she was for that period of time a guest of Francis Geers at Garnons. Elizabeth Acton was married to his son, Francis Geers junior in the August or September of that year, and Joyce, as Elizabeth's patron, mentor and guardian would undoubtedly have been a guest in the house for the duration of the wedding celebrations. The shift after Christmas to payments of monthly intervals suggests a level of uncertainty about length of stay, and Joyce eventually left Garnons for Hereford on Wednesday 17 April, 1644 to take up the occupation of her 'owne howse'. Yet her stay there was extremely brief; she left a few days later on the following Good Friday for Ham Castle, her childhood home, to reside with her nephew William and his wife Jane.

Although she had her chests and trunks moved from Garnons to Ham Castle at the end of May, Joyce may have intended to return to Hereford at a later date. In August of the same year she paid some workmen to transport household stuff from her rented house in Hereford to her new house, and in March 1644/5 bought onions and cabbages to plant in the garden there. The fact that soldiers were quartered in her house at this point may be a factor in explaining her continuing absence, although the accounts do not suggest they were resident there in 1644. In any case, Joyce took some time to wind up her affairs in Hereford. She retained the services of her coachman, Thomas Bedford, until the autumn of 1644, when she clearly felt that her travelling needs had changed, and it was at this point that she also paid the final instalment of rent to the two Mrs Fletchers. Joyce Simons, her goddaughter as well as her maid, who had been in Joyce's service since the summer of 1642 and throughout the period of her sojourn at Garnons, continued to serve her at the Castle. Matthias Rufford, too, who transacted business dealings on her behalf, and who had been her agent and debt collector since the accounts

¹⁶³ f. 58v.

opened, attended her throughout the remainder of her life; indeed his role appears to have grown in importance as Joyce's health began to fail.¹⁶⁴ Joyce also appointed John Berry at this time, who in addition to collecting loan payments acted as overseer for her interests as Broadward. In fact he went to dwell there and his disbursements in connection with the farm began in the January of 1646/7.

Why she left her new house quite so suddenly for Ham Castle is never explained in the accounts. She may have never intended to stay in the longer term while the conflict persisted, and it may be, as noted above, that her house was in use for the billeting of soldiers. She was growing older, had suffered bouts of illness, and needed to reduce her expenditure, but she may also have anticipated the outcome of the conflict and preferred not to live in Hereford under parliamentary rule. The amalgamation of the various parliamentary forces into the New Model Army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax towards the end of 1644 marked the beginning of the end for the royalist cause. By 1645, after success at Marston Moor, the Scots, under General Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven, were moving south. Determined to prevent a repeat of earlier surrenders, Barnabas Scudamore, the present governor of Hereford, took steps to secure the city:

He strengthened the old ramparts, scoured the ditches, silenced the bells, stopped the clocks, burned the suburban houses, even to an almshouse [and] cleared away the trees and hedges that might have sheltered the besiegers.¹⁶⁵

This was not an unusual tactic, but the devastation of property in the suburbs offered a further blow to Joyce's ailing financial position. In 1645, Joyce set about selling the three properties she owned in Widemarsh Street outside the gate—her 'greate new house', 'Gowlding Halle' and the house she had rented out to Maud Pritchett—in an attempt to recover at least part of her investment before the area was levelled by Scudamore. Whether she was successful in selling the house she rented to Maud Pritchett is unclear; her accounts merely reveal that it was pulled down after Maud moved out in May 1645. In any case the amount of money she was able to recoup proved a bitter disap-

¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Joyce kept a keen eye on Rufford's accounting. She recorded the fact that he had paid her 20s less than she was owed in June 1647, for example, and noted their disagreement over Francis Tranter's payment made in October of the same year; ff. 19–21. In line with other contemporary writers, Joyce used the sign of a pointing hand to draw attention to particular entries in her accounts. Of the 32 examples that appear in the manuscript, however, 18 reference her dealings with Rufford, highlighting his wages, the costs associated with his work on her behalf, or other matters, such as her promised gift to him of £100 (f. 50); 5 others pinpointed payments by Tranter.

¹⁶⁵ J. Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War Between King Charles I and the Parliament of England as it affected Herefordshire and the Adjacent Counties*, 2 (London, 1879), 216.

pointment, especially with regard to her new house. As Joyce pointed out in her accounts, the house that had cost her upwards of £500 to build was sold to Holmes, a Hereford mercer, for a mere £50.¹⁶⁶ She may also have suffered losses at Broadward, for in May 1645 Thomas Griffiths brought news of the 'fearfull sowldiers that were at Bradard'; some of Leven's men appear to have set up camp on the estate on their way south to Hereford.¹⁶⁷

The Scots army finally arrived outside Hereford at the end of July 1645, but the city's defences had been fortified and on this occasion it was well prepared. The result was an extended siege that lasted five weeks, until the Scots retreated in advance of the king's arrival on September 4. As Joyce laconically recorded: 'Generall Lessley, with his Scotts cam to beseege Heriford 5 weeks & went a way with out hit'.¹⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Hereford was finally captured by Colonel Birch in December 1645, and this time remained under parliamentary control.¹⁶⁹ Ham Castle, too, did not escape the attentions of the parliamentary forces, for William, like Joyce, lent his support to the king. Nash, in his history of Worcester, noted that the Castle was heavily damaged by the parliamentary army, and Joyce once more found herself in the position of having to remove her goods from the reach of the invaders. This appears to have been achieved, at least in part, by burying them in the gardens, from where they could be retrieved when the danger had subsided: in January 1645/6, Joyce paid David Williams, the bailiff at Ham Castle, the sum of 6d for helping 'to gett my trunke out of the grownd'.¹⁷⁰

Given her status and reputation, it was not surprising that Joyce was called upon to loan money to Parliament. Indeed she offered the sum of £20 in 1647, but since she had earlier escaped payment of a £100 fine imposed on her by the Hereford Committee through the intervention of Richard Nicholetts, her attorney, she may have been more willing to acquiesce.¹⁷¹ Joyce had taken no active part in the conflict, and was not subject to sequestration, though she did have to fight to retain the annuity of one hundred marks bequeathed to her by Humphrey Coningsby. The legacy had been charged on the estate of Neen Sollars, but the lands and properties were currently in the possession of Fitzwilliam Coningsby, who had been captured by

¹⁶⁶ f. 18.

¹⁶⁷ f. 61 v.

¹⁶⁸ f. 18.

¹⁶⁹ Webb, 'Some passages', 213.

¹⁷⁰ f. 63v.

¹⁷¹ ff. 67v, 65.

Waller in 1643.¹⁷² Until 1643 Joyce had received her annuities regularly, but after the St Mary's Day instalment of that year nothing more was paid until 1645, and all subsequent payments were partial amounts. By November 1646 almost £200 was outstanding, and since Fitzwilliam had applied to Parliament to compound for his sequestered estates—initiating a process of assessment that involved a survey of all his holdings and of the debts and charges attached to them—Joyce had little choice but to act to protect her investment.¹⁷³ In 1647 she therefore instructed Humphrey Hardman, the bailiff of Neen Sollars, to deliver a copy of Humphrey Coningsby's will, first to the jury and then to Sir Thomas Allin and his parliamentary commissioners at Shrewsbury, who 'would have seasoned upon the lordship of Nene for Mr Fitz-williams dett, upon an extent for [it], and would a had my anuety from me also'.¹⁷⁴ She had some success in securing her claim, but does not appear to have recovered all the monies due and owing to her before her death in 1650.

IV. PATTERNS OF CONSUMPTION

War was costly not only because it marked a period of high taxation and the destruction or sequestration of property, but also because the return on that property was significantly reduced—landlords were unable to collect rents, and in Joyce's case, borrowers were unable to pay their interest. But war was also disruptive to trade. There was clearly considerable local dislocation, but the decline in the number of purchases Joyce made in London once the conflict was underway also suggests that contact routes between Hereford and the metropolis were in severe disarray.

Many of Joyce's consumption needs were serviced locally, and her agricultural interests allowed her a measure of self-sufficiency. She obtained milk from her dairy stock, for example and purchased little meat. Even during her stay at Hinton, Joyce had fresh meat brought over from Broadward. She also employed Magdalin Morris as a brewing maid, and though she bought in best quality bread from Worcester and Hereford and cheese from Worcester and Kingsland, this would probably have accounted for only part of her household needs. The household remained the central focus of the early

¹⁷² Humphrey had bequeathed the manor of Neen Sollars to Sir Thomas Coningsby, who in turn left it to Fitzwilliam, his only surviving son, NA PROB 11/129, will of Humphrey Coningsby; NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby.

¹⁷³ An ordinance for sequestering notorious delinquents' estates had been passed in the same year. See C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642–1660, Volume I, 5th March 1642 to 30th January 1649* (London, 1911), 106; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 151.

¹⁷⁴ f. 68.

modern economy, but complete self-reliance was not the norm during the seventeenth century, nor had it been for some time. The purchase of tallow and wicks suggests that Joyce produced her own candles, although numerous other items in daily use testify to the expanding role of the manufacturing sector. Soap, starch, paper and ink were among the most common commercially prepared purchases recorded in the accounts, along with haberdashery goods. Quality textiles were bought in from mercers in London, Hereford and Worcester already finished, but standard household materials were either crafted or finished within the domestic environment. Joyce paid for the spinning of wool, for example, and payments for bleaching, weaving, scouring, dressing and dyeing feature regularly in the accounts, along with the costs of making aprons, coverlets and curtains. The craft sector was still enjoying its heyday—spinning constituted one of the few tasks that was commonly undertaken outside the craft sector, notably by women—and despite the fact that Joyce paid for a ready-made cloak in London in 1647, bespoke goods remained the norm. She frequently provided the materials—buying spanish leather for shoes or ash and oak for tables—and then employed a craftsman to make up the items in question.

Joyce obtained her consumption goods from a variety of sources, including local fairs and markets. Together, these institutions remained the primary locations for legitimate buying and selling in early modern England, and both succeeded in retaining much of their vitality throughout the seventeenth century, despite growing pressure from the private sector.¹⁷⁵ Markets and fairs were an ancient feature of life in England—the Bishop's fair in Hereford had been in existence since the reign of Henry I, for example—and in addition to their roles as major trading venues, fairs in particular offered a range of public entertainments, from the ubiquitous travelling musicians to 'Cherilickom and his Jack an apes', a man with a tame monkey at Worcester fair.¹⁷⁶ The amount of business Joyce transacted at local fairs was relatively small. She paid for flaxen cloth bought at Leominster fair, for example, and a white rug at Bristol, in addition to her forays into horse trading and dealing: fairs were

¹⁷⁵ J. Chartres, *Internal Trade in England 1500–1700* (London, 1977), 47.

¹⁷⁶ C. Reade, ed., *Memorials of Old Herefordshire* (London, 1904), 107. See also Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, 532–43. Other fairs mentioned in the accounts include those of Bristol, Bromyard, Kingsland, Leominster, Market Harborough, Wigmore. Fairs were held every year on an agreed date in a set place, normally linked to the feast of a particular saint. They might last a single day, a few days, or more than a week in some cases. Prescriptive fairs, held by custom, were often the oldest and most successful, and were frequently held in urban areas. Fairs could also be established by charter, grant, or royal letter, either folded and sealed (letters close) or carrying a seal (letters patent). For more information on fairs and markets see the online gazetteer at the Institute of Historical Research: Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England Wales to 1516* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006).

principally geared to the buying and selling of livestock. However, she did take advantage of the opportunity to sell or trade in used items of hardware, receiving 6d for an old basin at Hereford fair, in addition to part-exchanging old candlesticks, pewter pottingers, basins and even old chamber pots for new ones. Nor was she unusual in doing this. The recycling of old household items was a common practice in the early modern period even amongst the wealthier members of society. Lady Alice Le Strange of Hunstanton also exchanged saucers, pewter dishes and chamber pots, while the Howard family of Naworth Castle traded in a mortar at Carlisle fair.¹⁷⁷

Although fairs remained a significant focal point in the social and economic calendar of an area, much of what Joyce did purchase was bought from the traders and craftsmen of her local urban centres. Provincial shops in small towns generally exhibited a mixed stock-in-trade, like Mr Paule the draper, who sold Joyce oranges, lemons and sweetmeats, while larger urban centres could support more specialised retail outlets.¹⁷⁸ From Worcester Joyce bought hops, Bristol soap (in bulk), tobacco, spices, sugar, fruit and a range of fabrics and haberdashery, in addition to aniseed water and aquavivae, mostly from her cousin James Bridges, the mercer. She also purchased fabrics and merceryware from Henry Meredith, a mercer in Hereford, and several pairs of gloves from Abraham Stefens, the glover at Clifton. A range of itinerant tradesmen also feature in Joyce's accounts. Chapmen had been regular figures in the English retailing business since the sixteenth century, but the expanding home market for cheap consumer goods gave added impetus to their trade.¹⁷⁹ Like the roguish pedlar Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale*, chapmen generally carried three types of products—textiles, haberdashery and ready-made goods—and those visiting Joyce were no exception.¹⁸⁰ George, the pedlar, supplied her with a taffeta hood, and from another itinerant trader she bought fabric to make herself handkerchiefs. Stockings, which by the later seventeenth century were standard chapmen's wares, were another item that Joyce sometimes purchased ready-made, even if she later paid to have them dyed. She also patronised other itinerants, principally tinkers, who made their living travelling the country mending pots and pans.

¹⁷⁷ NRO Lest/P9, Household Account of Receipts and Disbursements by Lady Alice Le Strange, 1633–42, w/e 9 Feb 1638/9; G. Ornsby, ed., *Selections from the Household Books of the Lord William Howard of Naworth Castle*, Surtees Society, 68 (1878), 43. See also D. Woodward, '“Swords into Ploughshares”: Recycling in Pre-Industrial England', *Economic History Review*, 38 (1985).

¹⁷⁸ T. S. Willan, *The inland trade Studies in English internal trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Manchester, 1976), 80–1.

¹⁷⁹ M. Spufford, *The Great Reclothing of Rural England: Petty Chapmen and their Wares in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1984), 6.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, 88.

The importance of London as a site of gentry consumption is also evident in Joyce's accounts. F. J. Fisher noted several years ago that 'a significant feature of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the increasing extent to which the revenues spent in London were the revenues of that junior branch of the nobility, the country gentry'.¹⁸¹ Joyce did not winter in London, as was increasingly the fashion amongst rural landholders, and does not appear to have visited the capital herself, but until the outbreak of hostilities in 1642 she did have regular contact with the capital through intermediaries. Advances in the transport industry allowed road transport in particular to increase its effective capacity perhaps three or fourfold between 1500 and 1700, offering a regularity of service, in addition to considerably improved provincial access to metropolitan goods.¹⁸² By the early seventeenth century some gentry families like the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe were purchasing the bulk of their grocery, haberdashery and mercery goods in London, and paying for them to be transported to Halifax.¹⁸³ Joyce, unlike the Shuttleworths, preferred in the main to deal with local mercers and haberdashers, at least in part because of her family connections with James Bridges, the Worcester mercer. Certain items of conspicuous consumption, like the silver bowl bought from Mr Lide, the Hereford goldsmith, were also obtained locally. However Joyce did purchase some grocery and mercery ware in London, and other luxury items such as a pair of curling irons and a black beaver hat, were all bought in the capital.¹⁸⁴

And Joyce did appear to have a particular weakness for London clothing, buying the bulk of her own dressmaking requirements from Mr Richard Stockwall, her London tailor. Though she arranged for some of her more basic items of dress to be made up locally from provincial materials, along with all of the clothes she bought for her servants, her most expensive garments—before the onset of hostilities at least—were constructed in

¹⁸¹ F. J. Fisher, *London and the English Economy, 1500–1700*, eds. P. J. Corfield and N. B. Harte (London, 1990), 108.

¹⁸² Chartres, *Internal Trade*, 39–41.

¹⁸³ Harland, ed., *House and Farm Accounts*, 35, Part I, 197, 212; *ibid.*, 41, Part II (1856), 250.

¹⁸⁴ Joyce paid for two new beaver hats during the period of her accounts, the first bought for her by her cousin John Rufford in 1638 at a cost of £3 17s, and the second in 1642 by Francis Geers from London, at a cost of £3 10s (which included a black silk band); ff. 28v, 48v. Crean suggested that the popularity of beaver hats arose in response to a general European acceptance of Swedish fashion as Sweden rose to the level of an international power during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48). Beaver fur is 'the raw material par excellence for felt', but before the North American trade in beaver pelts had begun in earnest in the later seventeenth century, beaver hats remained a luxury item. J. F. Crean, 'Hats and the Fur Trade', *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 28 (1962), 373–86. Joyce's choice of hat, moreover, situated her firmly within the upper end of that luxury market. See M. Harrison, *The History of the Hat* (London, 1960), 104, 124.

London.¹⁸⁵ In her position as one of the wealthiest Herefordshire inhabitants, Joyce clearly felt she had standards to maintain. This practice allowed for an interesting relationship between Joyce and her tailors, for though she employed several during the period of the accounts, there is a clear sense of hierarchy in their relative roles. At the top sat Mr Richard Stockwall in London, who was also one of her debtors. Another London tailor, William Ramsey from Covent Garden, appeared on one occasion in the accounts in connection with the supply of whalebone bodies, but it was with Stockwall that Joyce was primarily concerned. He not only made up the clothing, but also supplied her with the necessary fashion accoutrements—buttons, linings, and pins, for example—in addition to the ready-made cloak and ‘a paier of new curles’, probably a reference to locks of curled hair.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, Joyce continued to employ Stockwall to make up her best items of clothing, even though more than one of the garments he made had to be altered on arrival in Hereford.

Next in line after the London tailors were the higher class local tailors, Mr Roger Seaborne and Mr William Knight, of Hereford and Worcester respectively. Seaborne, who altered the incorrectly-sized clothes sent down from London, also made up clothes for some of Joyce’s employees, including Matthias Rufford, Elizabeth Hackluit and Anne Davies; he no longer appears in the accounts after 1642. Knight, who did not appear in the accounts until 1644 and seems to have replaced Seaborne, made Joyce a gown and kirtle of black serge, and supplied her with a stuff gown in 1647. Thomas Tailer, a lesser Worcester craftsmen, who Joyce amusingly noted in her accounts was ‘a tailer by his trade & name’, was employed to make gowns for Elizabeth Acton, and there were other tailors of more lowly status, of whom Edward Munkland, a distant relation, appears most often.¹⁸⁷ His wages often included the

¹⁸⁵ Although the accounts indicate when Joyce’s garments were paid for rather than ordered, it seems likely that she would have followed the customary practice of having new clothes for Easter. In *Romeo and Juliet* Mercutio asks Benvolio: ‘didst thou not fall out with a tailor for wearing his new doublet before Easter?’, and by the later seventeenth century, women’s fashions tended to change annually at this time. *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (Ware, 1996), *Romeo and Juliet*, III, i; R. C. Latham and W. Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 10, Companion (London, 1983), 101.

¹⁸⁶ f.28v From 1625, women’s hairstyles tended to favour a high coiled bun with curls to frame the sides of the face. The fringe of separate curls on the forehead, popular from the early 1630s, was still in vogue in 1642, and ribbons were popular adornments; D. Yarwood, *English Costume From the Second Century BC to 1967*, third edition (London, 1967), 152. Joyce recorded numerous purchases of ribbon in her accounts, and on at least one occasion this was intended for use on her head—f. 61.

¹⁸⁷ Tailer may have been the choice of Elizabeth Acton, since Joyce does not appear to have been prescriptive. The material for Joyce Simons’ gown was bought from her brothers, both of whom were mercers.

provision of food, and he completed a variety of tasks from general mending to the making of a range of textile-based items including waistcoats, suits, gowns, petticoats, bed coverlets, curtains and horsecloths. After his departure in 1642 to join the royalist forces, Joyce employed the services of two other tailors of similar status, first 'ould Reece' at Garnons and then Anthony Sivall, 'a litle tailer', at Great Shelsley. It is clear that the onset of hostilities not only affected Joyce's local access to tailoring, but also her ability to purchase materials from London. Of the seven outfits she bought prior to 1642, only two were locally made and sourced, yet all four outfits purchased between 1643 and 1646 were of local derivation. Joyce's shift to local tailors may also have been, at least in part, a function of her more straitened financial circumstances, for London gowns were considerably more expensive. Instead of buying herself a new gown for Elizabeth Acton's wedding in 1643, for example, Joyce paid Reece to update the sleeves of her best tawny figured gown, a not uncommon practice in early modern England, and account entries indicate that other garments received similar treatment.¹⁸⁸ Only in 1647, when her nephew William and his wife Jane were visiting London, and her financial situation was more stable, did Joyce once again return to purchasing fabric from Richard Stockwall.

There is much to interest historians of clothing in Joyce's accounts, from the beaver hats she bought in London to the perfumed gloves and spanish leather shoes that also appear in the manuscript.¹⁸⁹ To contextualise Joyce's costume effectively within the developing arena of textile manufacture and its allied trades, attendant movements in fashion and the specialised knowledge of early modern tailoring practice is beyond the scope of this introduction—her accounts list a wide range of early modern fabrics, in addition to an assortment of contemporary haberdashery goods that includes bindings, threads, hooks and eyes, clasps, ribbons, points, whalebone for stays, linings, buckram, buttons and several types of lace.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps as befitted her age, many of the gowns and coats Joyce commissioned were made of black fabric, although the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth also contained a black taffeta Flanders gown in 1562, and two black velvet gowns, one dutch and one

¹⁸⁸ Even Queen Elizabeth had a number of her garments reworked; J. Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* (Leeds, 1988), 112–3.

¹⁸⁹ Such items were fashionable with the early modern gentry. The accounts of Lady Alice Le Strange, for example, also reference purchases of spanish leather shoes and beaver hats in the 1610s. NRO Lest P/6, Household Account of Receipts and Disbursements by Sir Hamon and Lady Alice Le Strange, 1606–21, Feb 25 1610/11.

¹⁹⁰ Griffiths offered a description of the clothing in Joyce's accounts in the appendix to his 1933 article, published the following year. See Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys of Ham Castle: A 17th Century Business Gentlewoman—Appendix'.

polish, were altered for her in 1567 and 1568 respectively.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless, Joyce did not skimp on quality. The black silk calamanco gown made for her by Richard Stockwall in 1638 cost over £18, while the black silk gogram gown, completed in 1641, cost in excess of £12. Joyce clearly held considerable store in the cultural value of attire. During her lifetime she kept liveried servants, and in her will ordered that the 'servant man that shall attend me at the time of my decease shall then have a mourning suite and cloake and that every one of my servant maides that shall then be dwelling with me shall have a mourning gowne'.¹⁹² Elizabeth Acton, her companion, was provided with a range of quality garments appropriate to her age and status—the shag baize Joyce bought for her under petticoat in January 1639/40, for example, was a relatively new fabric on the market—and Joyce bought clothing for many other household members, from the expensive livery uniforms for her coachmen to the more humble petticoats, shoes and aprons bought for the use of her maids. And though it was common practice for some amount of clothing to form part of a servant's contract, comparisons with other sets of household accounts suggest that Joyce provided more garments than it was usual to include.¹⁹³

Although an inventory of Joyce's goods has not survived, her accounts and will reveal enough of her possessions to seal her a place at the height of fashionable society at least amongst the lesser provincial gentry. In addition to expensive metropolitan clothes, Joyce owned Venetian mirrors, several items of silver including spoons and bowls, two jewelled hatbands and a diamond ring. At least two of the new chairs she purchased were upholstered, though only with woollen cloth, and she had an oval table, in addition to a long table, made for her new house in Hereford. A direct reference to window curtains is also suggestive. Lorna Weatherill's examination of the nature of goods owned by individuals at death between 1675 and 1725 revealed that though silver items and mirrors were in use if still uncommon in 1675, window curtains were 'extremely rare'.¹⁹⁴ Her survey of probate inventories did not include vast numbers of gentry records from the period in question and also tended to exclude wealthier individuals, but of those gentry examined only

¹⁹¹ Arnold, *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 112.

¹⁹² FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies.

¹⁹³ I have made a brief survey of the household accounts of Lady Alice Le Strange (NRO Lest P/6—Lest P/11, Household Accounts of Receipts and Disbursements by Sir Hamon and Lady Alice Le Strange 1606–53), Sarah Fell (Penney, ed., *Sarah Fell*), Lady Grisell Baillie (R. Scott-Moncrieff, ed., *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie 1692–1733* (Edinburgh, 1911), the Shuttleworth family (Harland, ed., *Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*) and the Howard family (Ornsby, ed., *Selections from the Household Books*).

¹⁹⁴ L. Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660–1760*, second edition (London, 1996), 28.

26 per cent recorded window curtains between 1675 and 1725. Furthermore, levels of ownership of curtains amongst widows and spinsters during the same period stood at only 17 per cent.¹⁹⁵

V. FAMILY, HOUSEHOLD, RELIGION AND CHARITY

Whether Joyce's consumption pattern was a reflection of her gentle status or an affirmation of it, her position as household head provided her with the opportunity to utilise her wealth as she saw fit. In this Joyce was unusual, for few single women were running their own household in the seventeenth century, even when the proportion of single women in the general population reached its peak.¹⁹⁶ Such knowledge has been in part responsible for the traditional image of spinsterhood as 'a form of social derogation', in which a never-married woman was condemned to 'a lifetime of peripheral existence', playing out a 'functionless role ... at the margins of other people's lives'.¹⁹⁷ Since the household in the early modern period retained its status as the primary locus of production and consumption, and also as the most fundamental source of political, economic, social and religious order, the inability of single women to locate themselves at its centre has tended by implication to marginalise their position. However, more recent commentators have cautioned against the notion that single women were necessarily auxiliary figures, and the story of Joyce's life within the orbit of mid-seventeenth century Hereford offers a welcome corrective to the pessimistic image of the seventeenth century single woman.¹⁹⁸

There is no information on the size of John Fletcher's house in Widemarsh Street in the accounts, nor of the farm at Broadward, but Joyce's retinue of

¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, Table 8.1, 168. Significantly, the proportion of inventories in the London Orphans' Court sample listing window curtains was much higher in 1675, at 68 per cent; see Table 2.2, 27. In the economically forward county of Kent more than 10 per cent of households had window curtains by 1650; between 1600 and 1750 they were mentioned in 50 per cent of gentry inventories in the same county. In the more backward Cornwall on the other hand they were extremely rare. M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750* (London, 2004), 113.

¹⁹⁶ In the Lichfield local census for 1695 only 4 per cent of single women were heading their own household. Copy of the Lichfield Census (1695), courtesy of the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Department of Geography, University of Cambridge.

¹⁹⁷ Slater, *Family Life*, 84.

¹⁹⁸ A. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London, 1993), 84. Amy Froide's work on early modern Southampton has revealed that single women were embedded within a complex network of economic and social activities. A. M. Froide, 'Single Women, Work and Community in Southampton 1550–1750', unpublished PhD thesis, Duke University, 1996, 84. See also Froide, *Never Married*.

employees was substantial—in the early part of her accounts at least she employed six or more at anyone time. Payments for labour in this period could take a number of forms. Most of Joyce's workers were likely to be young, unmarried, live-in servants, who formed a considerable part of the labour force in early modern England, and who received an annual salary in addition to food and clothing. This was certainly true in the case of the women. Ages of employees are not given, but after leaving her service at least four of Joyce's female employees went on to marry. In other cases employees like Edward Munckland were paid on a daily basis with food as part of the remuneration. He received his diet and 6d a day while he made up Thomas Bedford's suit and cloak in Joyce's house in August 1641. Joyce also employed a range of casual labourers who worked on a temporary basis, either to maintain the garden, to help with the washing, or to perform general repairs and maintenance. In terms of waged labour, however, Joyce specified payments of wages to at least twenty individuals during the nine or so years covered by her accounts including household servants, a cook- and brewing-maid, two coachmen, a blacksmith, and even the parish clerk.¹⁹⁹ Such diversity makes a comparison between Joyce's wage payments and those in other sets of accounts problematic because of the differential rates that were recorded. The variety suggests—as would be expected—a range of roles and remunerations dependent upon status and duties, although without further information little more can be established. Sybil Wattis and Elizabeth Goulding were both paid only £1 per year, for example, while Anne Davies and Joyce Simons each received £2 per year. Elizabeth Hackluyt's annual salary—at £3—matched that of the coachman Thomas Bedford, but Matthias Rufford was the most expensive individual to employ, receiving £4 per year for the tasks he fulfilled.²⁰⁰ Elizabeth Newton appears to have received no remuneration during her period of employment, but as Joyce's will reveals, she actually saved £100 for Elizabeth, 'it being a stock which I have raised and saved for her out of her wages and interest money'.²⁰¹ Joyce's accounts suggest that wages were not always paid at the pre-arranged time, but if more were late than early some

¹⁹⁹ For details of all the designated servants and waged employees that occur in the accounts, their wages and the periods in which they appear in the accounts, please see Appendix V. The wages of a parish clerk were paid yearly by the parishioners, and could be linked to wealth or landholding. William Jorden, for example, of Minster in the Isle of Thanet, Kent, who occupied one and a half acres of corn land in that parish in 1608, paid 4d to the parish clerk every year for his wages. Canterbury Diocese Probate Court (Archdeaconry and Consistory) Deposition book DCb/PRC 39/29, f. 202. See Joyce's payments at Easter in 1638, 1641, 1642 and 1643, ff. 25, 43, 48v, 54v.

²⁰⁰ For a comparison see the printed accounts of the Howard household, which demonstrate a similar range of payments in 1640: female employees for example were paid at rates of £1, £2 or £3 per annum. Ornsby, ed., *Selections from the Household Books*, Appendix, 501–3.

²⁰¹ FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies.

employees did benefit: Joyce Simons and Thomas Harris both received an advance on their wages on at least one occasion.

There are hints in the accounts that some of Joyce's relationships with her employees were less than ideal. William Merick, for example, who had received training from Walter Harris in the art of coach driving (at Joyce's expense) stayed with her for a short time only, since according to Joyce he had 'willfully broken' her coach. Her accounts also record that she had been 'robbed' in March 1642/3 by Elizabeth Munckland.²⁰² But Joyce seems to have enjoyed a very fruitful relationship with the final member of her household. In addition to her assortment of servants and employees, Joyce had a young female companion living with her, Elizabeth Acton, one of her goddaughters, who benefited significantly from her godmother's patronage. Elizabeth also formed part of Joyce's wide kinship network (see below), being sister to her cousin Anne Bridges of Worcester. As a companion, or perhaps a gentlewoman in waiting, Elizabeth was likely to have been living with Joyce in order to extend her education, but Joyce appears to have been extremely fond of her, and she remained with Joyce until her marriage to Francis Geers junior in the September of 1643. No payments were made to Joyce for Elizabeth's upkeep during the period of the accounts, nor for her clothes, but this was not unusual; arrangements for the cost of guardianship or education would most probably have been settled before her arrival.²⁰³

In addition to revealing the centrality of her position as a householder in Hereford society, Joyce's accounts signal the full extent of her entrenchment within the overlapping networks of kin and community. Heal and Holmes have argued that although the nuclear family formed 'the critical focus' of the social and emotional experiences of the gentry in the early modern period, their wider kin networks were 'bound to the nuclear core by the perception of lineage, by mutual economic and political interest and even by ties of emotion'.²⁰⁴ Joyce, it seems, was no exception. Along with the members of her household, which, in keeping with contemporary understanding she referred to as her 'famelly', Joyce's world revolved around a wide and inter-connected

²⁰² ff. 36v, 44v, 53. Henry Best's *Farming Book* cautioned against 'the fingers of theevish and ill-disposed servants', warning employers 'not to committe over much to theire trust, but to see into all things your selfe and to keepe as much as yow can under locke and key'. Woodward, ed., *Henry Best*, 26, 140.

²⁰³ If not in receipt of specific payments, guardians were frequently allocated control of the portions of orphans in their care, and drew income from the interest during the period of their guardianship.

²⁰⁴ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 91. For single women, the nuclear family was less important than wider kinship connections. At the same time, the support such women offered to the nuclear household could have been a significant element in its ability to survive and thrive. See Froide, *Never Married*, ch. 3.

network of relatives.²⁰⁵ As Griffiths noted in 1933, Joyce could count among her kin such reputable county families as the Ansleys, the Brabazons, the Barnabys and the Coningsbys, in addition to those of more humble status, like the widow Jane Gorton, and James Bridges, the Worcester mercer.²⁰⁶ Though Joyce's relationship with her kin seems to have been above all an emotional one, there were economic aspects to the association. She bought goods from her cousin James Bridges, for example, and employed Edward Munckland—Jane Gorton's son-in-law—in the making of clothes and other textile items. Joyce's celibate status may have made her more heavily dependent on a broader group of relations than would have been the case had she been married, and in this sense her kin may well have at least in part replaced the nuclear element of family life that her single status denied her.²⁰⁷

Furthermore, as Heal and Holmes have suggested, kin could be loosely defined as 'those who shared social worlds or had mutual interests', and relationships were strengthened by the provision of hospitality and the fostering of friendships.²⁰⁸ One of the most obvious ways in which this was achieved was through the system of godparenthood. In the early modern period, baptism—though essentially a religious ceremony—was understood to have wider social implications. Through the linking of households in friendship, it 'created bonds of affinity between families and individuals', forging 'lasting links between godparents and their godchildren, between parents and gossips and between the wider families of all those concerned'.²⁰⁹ Joyce listed the names of fourteen godchildren in her accounts, and in two other cases claimed to have 'fownd to', or sponsored infants, namely Joyce Lawrance and Thomas Geers.²¹⁰ In early modern England it was customary practice to have

²⁰⁵ Acknowledging the archaic concept of the household as family is fundamental insofar as it reveals not only contemporaries' own understanding of what a family was, but also because it underscores the fact that associated social actions—leaving or joining for example—were understood as familial actions. N. Tadmor, 'The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 151 (1996), 113.

²⁰⁶ Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 9. Joyce described many of her relatives using the term 'cousin', a term that clearly covered a number of kin relationships.

²⁰⁷ Single women may have seen themselves as 'part of their collective families', rather than as individuals. Froide, *Never Married*, 85.

²⁰⁸ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 94.

²⁰⁹ C. Tait, 'Spiritual Bonds, Social Bonds: Baptism and Godparenthood in Ireland, 1530–1690', *Cultural and Social History*, 2 (2005), 302.

²¹⁰ The following were identified as Joyce's godchildren: Joyce Walsh the elder; Joyce Walsh the younger; Joyce Simons; Philippa Baskerville; Elizabeth Geers (née Acton); Joyce Munne; Joyce Gravell; Joyce Nott; John Jeffreys; Henry Jeffreys; Herbert Westfaling; Humphrey Coningsby; Fitzwilliam Eaton; John Jeffreys junior. Moreover, since godparents were expected to present the midwife and the child's nurse with gifts at the baptism, Joyce may have been performing this office for several other children: she attended the christenings of a number of children (see fn 33) and

three godparents, two being the same sex as the child, and the other of the opposite sex, and naming the child after one of the godparents was not uncommon.²¹¹ Indeed of the eight female infants for whom Joyce performed the office, six were christened with the name of 'Joyce'. The primary purpose of the godparent was held to be a spiritual one—to answer at baptism on the child's behalf—but many families considered godparenting to be more a matter of social estimation and respect than religious duty, and gentry letters and diaries in particular situate godparenting within 'a matrix of kinship and clientage'. For Joyce, on the one hand, the office of godparent served to reaffirm the importance of kin in her life. Godparents 'were frequently selected from the pool of consanguinal and affinal kin', and since the bulk of her godchildren were members of her extended family godparenting allowed Joyce to play out a central role in the lives of younger relations, locating her squarely within the family orbit in both the public and the private domain.²¹² On the other, a request to act as godparent, and the decision to give the child her name, reflected her considerable wealth and social standing. High status godparents honoured both the parents and the child, and the concept of the office as one of sponsorship extended far beyond the mere spiritual. A godparent would customarily endow a child with a gift of silver or gilt, for example, strengthening and confirming the bond of godparenthood, and Joyce was no exception. Little Joyce Walsh received a silver tankard valued at over £5, and little Joyce Lawrance a silver bowl costing £2 8s 10d. Nor was this the sole gesture of her support, for Joyce saw her role extending considerably beyond the mere ceremony. In addition to costly gifts at baptism, Joyce paid 8s, for example, 'for blue silk riband & tafetey & sillver lace, for skarfs for my godson, Harbert Westfaling, & Joyce Gravell my goddaughter' at Hereford fair in July of 1638, and gave her godson Humphrey Coningsby 4s when he went to London to be apprenticed to a barber later the same month.²¹³

provided cash gifts to the midwife and/or nurse in question; Tait, 'Spiritual Bonds, Social Bonds', 320. Joyce's maid, Joyce Simons, also went to 'finde' to Combe's child of Clifton in 1644; f. 59v.

²¹¹ During the reign of Elizabeth, between half and three-quarters of children christened in three Yorkshire parishes were given the name of a godparent, although there may have been a decline in this practice during the seventeenth century; cited in Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 161. See also J. Bossy, 'Godparenthood: the Fortunes of a Social Institution in Early Modern Christianity', in K. von Greyerz, *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800* (London, 1984), 196. There may have been a range of considerations for doing this. In the will of Henry Jeffreys written in 1533, for example, the testator left 12d 'to every of my Godchildren beryng my name'. WRO Antiquarian Notebook, 74.

²¹² Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 156.

²¹³ ff. 26v, 27v; Tait, 'Spiritual Bonds, Social Bonds', 320.

Joyce's accounts also reveal something of the impact of the introduction of the Directory for Public Worship on the Jeffreys' household.²¹⁴ Although Joyce had acted in the role of godparent for at least two of her great nephews—Henry and John Jeffreys—she made no reference to carrying out the office for Samuel in December 1646, when he was christened 'after the new derectory', nor for Joyce, her namesake in 1647.²¹⁵ Though the office of godparent had been retained after the Reformation, if not without criticism, the introduction of the Directory for Public Worship in 1645 saw its temporary abolition. Heal and Holmes have indicated that the loss of the office, for the Anglican gentry at least, may have been a particular source of distress, since they put much store in its spiritual and secular value, and according to Cressy, many families continued to appoint godparents after 1645.²¹⁶ William Jeffreys' decision not to include godparents at the christening of his son Samuel—or Joyce's failure to mention them—can perhaps best be interpreted pragmatically: by the time Samuel was born, Hereford had been in parliamentary hands for almost a year, and Goodrich Castle, one of the few remaining royalist strongholds, had also fallen under parliamentary control.²¹⁷

Though the spiritual care Joyce could offer may have been only part of the reason she proved so popular as a godparent, the accounts reference a number of activities that reveal the importance of religion in her life. Kenneth Charlton has argued that the over-riding aim of women's elementary education, alongside a skills-based programme of learning suitably tapered towards social and economic station, was the inculcation of religiosity and a god-fearing attitude.²¹⁸ The accounts provide no evidence of Joyce's religious upbringing, nor do they indicate any extreme religious persuasion, but they do illuminate her religious involvement within the community and her active

²¹⁴The signing of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643 by the Long Parliament and the Scottish government provided military support for Parliament in exchange for certain undertakings. One was the reform of the Church of England. The Westminster Assembly of Divines, tasked with the job of reform, subsequently delivered a new national liturgy to Parliament that became effective from 4 January 1645—Anon, *A Directory for the publicke worship of God* (1645); R. Hutton, *The Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford, 1996), 29–30. With the banning of the Common Prayer book and the introduction of the Directory of Public Worship, baptism was to be held in full view of the congregation, it was to be performed by a church minister, and the child was to be presented by its father—there was no reference to godparents. See Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 173–5.

²¹⁵f. 66.

²¹⁶Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 95; Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 178.

²¹⁷Shoesmith, *Civil War*, 144–6.

²¹⁸K. Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (London, 1999), 153.

participation in the provision of ministry.²¹⁹ And while the parliamentary officer Nehemiah Wharton may have felt justified in claiming in 1642 that 'the inhabitants [of Hereford] are totally ignorant in the waies of God, and much addicted to drunkenness and other vices', his comments can hardly have applied to Joyce.²²⁰ On the contrary, she appears as an exemplary parishioner and at the very least displays a belief in God's providence, and a need for his approval.²²¹ Firstly, like many women who thanked God in their writings for his help in their personal lives, Joyce noted evidence of her relationship with God in her manuscript. In the early part of the accounts, for example, she described herself residing in John Fletcher's house in Hereford 'to Gods pleasure'; she had sent £50 over to her cousin in Ypres in June of 1639 'as a token of Gods blessing & myne'; and she asked for God's blessing on ceremonial occasions, in particular at the baptisms of Samuel and Joyce Jeffreys and the marriage of Francis Geers junior to Elizabeth Acton. Small personal triumphs also drew out her gratefulness. The discovery that she had made a profit at the end of 1641, for example, appears to have caused her to thank 'the Lord for hit', as did the moment when she had succeeded in paying Francis Geers senior the final instalment of Elizabeth Acton's portion.²²²

Secondly, Joyce paid the regular sums of money that were required to support the fabric of her local church. As a substantial property holder in the parish of All Saints, Hereford, Joyce was liable for any assessments levied by the churchwardens there, and paid money towards repairing the church on at least three occasions.²²³ Possession of the fifteen acres of grange land near Leominster also brought with it a responsibility to contribute to the repairs of Leominster parish church, for which she was assessed at the sum of 10d in 1639/40.²²⁴ In addition, Joyce paid the wife of Simon Reece, the parish clerk,

²¹⁹ The will of Sir Thomas Coningsby, with whom Joyce spent time at Hampton Court, suggests he had puritan sympathies: he requested that he be interred next to his wife in Hope church 'without Pompe yea or so much as mourning liveries'. Joyce, however, did not follow his lead, leaving £50 for her funeral expenses, and as noted earlier, bequeathed mourning clothes for the servants then in her employ. NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby; FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies.

²²⁰ Wharton, 'Letters', 332.

²²¹ Alexandra Walsham has noted that Providentialism—the belief in divine and beneficent control—was part of the mainstream religious culture in early modern England, 'a set of ideological spectacles through which individuals of all social levels and from all positions on the confessional spectrum were apt to view their universe'. See A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 2–3.

²²² ff. 42v, 33, 66, 70v, 55, 11 v, 70.

²²³ She is recorded as having made payments to the churchwardens every year between 1623 and 1641 where lists of payments exist, apart from 1628, when there is a long list of non-contributors. HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5).

²²⁴ ff. 29, 33, 42, 37.

to perform the traditional dressing of her church seat at religious festivals, and made regular seasonal offerings for her house and gardens at Easter.²²⁵

Thirdly, although 'the female ritual of piety', as Patricia Crawford has indicated, 'had both a public and a private face', Joyce's accounts tell us little about her private devotions, apart from the fact that she purchased two books by the Bishop of Exeter, Dr Joseph Hall.²²⁶ However, they do reveal a considerable amount about her public involvement in religion. Of particular importance in Protestant thought was the attendance at sermons, since it was understood to be a key method by which the word of God was disseminated. Such attendance was ranked above receipt of the sacrament prior to the civil wars, and was clearly important to Joyce. On New Year's Eve of 1638, for instance, she recorded paying 10s towards the stipend of Mr John Haggley, the vicar at All Saints' church, Hereford, 'for preching Sondaies in the after noone' during every Sunday of the previous year.²²⁷ In 1646, after she had moved to Ham Castle, she contributed towards the diet of three preachers at Clifton, in order 'to maintaine the weeckly lecturer at Clifton upon Teame (see Plates 5 and 6.a).²²⁸ With regard to taking the sacrament, Joyce appears to have participated in the communion rites only at Easter. Though a number of women did attempt to take communion monthly, in many areas the sacrament was only celebrated at key church festivals until the later seventeenth century, usually no more than three or four times a year.²²⁹ In the early part of her manuscript Joyce noted attending communion at her parish church of All Saints in Hereford, and then later at the church in Little Mansell during the period of time she spent at Garnons.

She also received the sacrament at Ham Castle in March 1645/6 from John Greene, the vicar of Clifton; on this occasion Joyce may have been too ill to travel to church, or perhaps William had paid for the vicar to take a private service within the Castle. Finally, Joyce's religious duties even

²²⁵ Householdors were liable to their parish priest for offerings at Easter based on their property holdings and the number of people in their household of communicable age. In the parish of Scopwick in the diocese of Lincoln for example, the vicar was entitled to receive 'of every Inhabitant having and keeping a house in the parish of Scopwick aforesaid at Easter yearly these following Offerings namely Two pence for the Master of the Family and Two pence for his Wife & two pence a piece for every Son and Daughter and Man Servant and Maid Servant in his Family that are of lawfull age to recieve the holy Communion', LA Court Papers 3. Allegations and Interrogatories, 62/4/6, 1698. For Joyce's offerings at Hereford see ff. 25, 32, 37v, 43, 48v, and at Little Mansell, f. 53. See also f. 25, fn 2.

²²⁶ P. Crawford, *Women and Religion in England 1500–1720* (London, 1993), 77. See also fn to f. 33v.

²²⁷ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, 78; f. 29v.

²²⁸ f. 65v.

²²⁹ Crawford, *Women and Religion*, 78.

extended to the maintenance of order during public services. She gave two men money on separate occasions to keep dogs out of the church, a perennial source of disruption in the Tudor and Stuart periods.²³⁰

Moreover, if Joyce's charity was in any way a reflection of her religious belief, then the latter must have been considerable, for Joyce's benevolence forms one of the most prominent features of her manuscript. There is little doubt that charitable activity had its basis in religion. Treatises on the charitable gift in early modern England were many and varied, largely because the performance of charity was thought to prepare the individual for membership of the 'heavenly' congregation. But charity, in addition, performed at least two major social functions. Firstly, from the Reformation onwards, charity had been constructed as the inseparable counterpart to wealth. Edward Dering, a sixteenth century Puritan divine, claimed that men were given riches for one reason and one reason alone—to enable them to support the poor.²³¹ As a wealthy gentlewoman and the holder of several properties, Joyce's economic and social position would then have demanded an element of largesse. Secondly, as Heal and Holmes have argued, 'generosity to the community remained a major manifestation of gentility', of key importance to individuals in the rapidly changing social structure of seventeenth century England.²³² For Joyce, however, charitable activity may have performed yet another function. Without an occupational identity, or a husband from which to draw social position, single women were likely to have found their status, and even their reputation, somewhat problematic. Under such circumstances, charity may have provided a means by which Joyce could forge and maintain her place within her local society.²³³

In any event, Joyce's benevolence had a number of facets, and aside from her regular payments to the overseers of the poor, her accounts demonstrate a keen awareness of her moral and civic duty. This may have been inculcated early—genteel parents were in the habit of encouraging their children to act charitably at a young age—and emerges as a feature of other surviving gentry accounts.²³⁴ Joyce's most numerous gifts were the regular small sums she reserved for local paupers, some of whom like Ned Harris, 'the bedlam man'

²³⁰ ff. 40v, 43v.

²³¹ Cited in W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480–1660* (London, 1959), 153.

²³² Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 372.

²³³ For a discussion of the relationship between single women and charity, and other ways in which they raised their status and credit, see J. Spicksley, 'A Dynamic Model of Social Relations: Celibacy, Credit and the Identity of the "Spinster" in Seventeenth-Century England', in H. French and J. Barry, eds., *Identity and Agency in England, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2004), 119–121.

²³⁴ Elizabeth Walker gave her children cash to give to beggars and the poor, 'to accustom them to be charitable'; cited in Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education*, 217–8.

were identified by name. She also offered alms to the poor on public occasions, as they congregated outside the Minster for example, or gathered at the christening of Mr Barrall's son, Brabazon, in June 1639.²³⁵ But in addition, Joyce gave monies to those frequently characterised as the less deserving poor, presenting 4d in 1639 to 'a cownterfett soldier, or a theeff rather'; making donations on three occasions to the prisoners in Byster's Gate; and in keeping with the concept of Tudor hospitality, providing relief at her door to three prisoners from the Shear gaol at Whitsuntide in 1642.²³⁶

Furthermore, she was touched by those afflicted by accident or misfortune and demonstrated concern for the sick and disabled. A poor man and his lame wife from Yorkshire received 2d in the November of 1640, for example, and Joyce gave 2d to a poor woman who went to seek treatment or relief at 'the bathe'.²³⁷ She may also have responded to a number of charity briefs. Until their abolition in 1828 charity briefs constituted 'an early form of disaster appeal', established, at least after the Reformation, by royal warrant that authorised a collection—either in church or from house to house—for a specified charitable purpose.²³⁸ Joyce's accounts do not identify briefs directly, but record her donation of 6d in 1639 to a man who had been shipwrecked off the West Indies, 'to bring him to his contrey, west Chester', for example, and the gift of 4d early in 1644 to a man who was collecting in Little Mansell church after he had lost his house in a fire in Cleobury Mortimer.²³⁹ Former employees too were recipients of her considerable largesse, and local knowledge of her wealth and status meant that Joyce was a target for chari-

²³⁵ Rowland Vaughan argued that 'for want of employment' the Golden Valley was 'the plentifulllest place of the poor in the kingdom'. Herefordshire lacked secondary employment opportunities, since until glove-making appeared sometime during the seventeenth century there were no domestic handicrafts. Vaughan himself gathered together 'a commonwealth of traders' in the valley, attracting individuals from a range of crafts and trades. Cited in Thirsk, ed., *Agrarian History*, 109.

²³⁶ f. 35. Begging en masse may not have been unusual. In February of 1616 the steward at Gawthorpe recorded giving 2s to a man that arrived with eleven cripples; Harland, ed., *Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe*, 35, Part I, 217.

²³⁷ See fn on f. 37v.

²³⁸ M. Harris, "'Inky Blots and Rotten Parchment Bonds': London, Charity Briefs and the Guildhall Library", *Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 98–104; W. A. Bewes, *Church Briefs, or Royal Warrants for Collections for Charitable Objects* (1986), 6–21.

²³⁹ ff. 33v, 57. Though these briefs were not organised by the parish church of All Saints and therefore not recorded in the churchwardens' accounts, the accounts do record collections for a number of charity briefs in the 1660s. See under the following dates: Apr 7 1661; Apr 21 1661; Oct 27 1664; Jan 27th 1664/5; Apr 10 1665. HAS BC63/l, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5). Nevertheless briefs appear frequently in earlier churchwardens' accounts in other areas. See for example, BI Archbishop of York's Cause Papers, CPH. 2052, 1634–5, which contains the list of briefs for Brampton Bierlaw, beginning June 1, 1614.

table requests.²⁴⁰ This clearly extended to bid-ales, for she contributed 1s to two such gatherings in 1643, and other worthy causes. When in 1647 Mr Greene, a local vicar approached her on behalf of William Aingell, 'a poore scoller', she provided him with the sum of 2s 6d to help 'furnish him to Oxford'.²⁴¹

Where Joyce's accounts differ from those of other surviving gentry families, however, is in the largesse she extended to members of her wider kin network, and other individuals in her care. She clearly had her favourites. Henry Jeffreys, William's oldest son, who Joyce described as her 'beloved godson and nephew', benefited regularly from her generosity, and she appears to have been especially fond of all of William's children: along with gifts of money Joyce provided them with wooden whistles, cymbals, baskets and fancy ribbons.²⁴² The daughters of her niece Anne Nott, William's sister, who lived in Great Shelsley, were similarly indulged, receiving sums amounting to several shillings at a time on a number of occasions, while Anne herself was given money, along with another of Joyce's cousins—Katherine Homes—when they made a visit to the iron works at Shelsley. Elizabeth Acton, who also held a high place in Joyce's affection, received cash sums on numerous occasions for a wide range of activities. Aside from unspecified amounts to 'put in her purse', Joyce provided cash for visits to Kilkinson, Worcester, and Hereford fair, money for card games, and tips for the ostler and the chamberlain at Mrs Staples' lodging house when Elizabeth went 'to Worster to cristen her sister Anne Bridges dawghter called Elizabeth'.²⁴³ Finally, Joyce appears to have taken particular care of Widow Jane Gorton, one of her less fortunate cousins, paying her house rent (she lived next to Joyce), buying her shoes, and providing her with regular cash sums. She also paid for Jane's medical care during her final fatal illness and covered the costs of her burial in 1643.²⁴⁴

In addition to these frequent acts of generosity, Joyce's genteel status made her life a continuous round of cash gratuities. Firstly, servants were regularly presented with tips and treats, regardless of whether they were in her own employ, or attached to other households. Anne Busby the 'governer', John Buttrey the manservant, Jane the dairy maid and Peter the bailiff, were all

²⁴⁰ Joyce paid for the making of a coat for little Beatrice Ailway, the daughter of a former employee, and gave Ferdinando Wast, who had at one time been employed by Sir Thomas Coningsby, the sum of 18d; ff. 59v, 57. She also made numerous donations to servitors at the Friars, most probably a reference to the location for Coningsby's hospital for old servants and soldiers. See fn to f. 15.

²⁴¹ f. 56 (on behalf of Richard Delahay and Owen at Garnons); f. 67v.

²⁴² Joyce also had her own whistle, hung on ribbon; f. 52.

²⁴³ f. 39.

²⁴⁴ f. 53. Goody Jons of the Friars also received financial help to bury her husband, as did Lewes Hunt to help bury his wife; ff. 46, 40v. Joyce also paid Edward Munckland's rent on at least one occasion, and he too lived in Widmarsh Street; f.25v.

among those presented with cash vails when Joyce left Garnons in April 1644, for example, and young boys and girls on a variety of errands, often with items of food, were similarly rewarded. Joyce gave 4d in July 1638 to John Winnis' boy, who brought her some pears, and a 'litle boy' that brought letters from Garnons in 1645 received 1s.²⁴⁵ Secondly, visitors to her current place of residence were rewarded for their efforts with a cash gift. Some gifts were extremely generous. Sarah and Jane Phillips, cousins of Joyce on her mother's side (who had both been recently married in London) called in to see Joyce in Hereford in 1641 when 'they were in the cuntry' and were given a total of 20s between them.²⁴⁶ But smaller gifts were more common. Mrs Philippa Baskerville, one of her goddaughters, received 5s when she called in to see Joyce at Garnons, and Anne Ailway (née Davies), a former servant, who also came to Garnons, was given 1s.²⁴⁷ Mary Collins, the Broadward maid, and her mother, received only 6d between them when they visited Joyce at Ham Castle, but other gifts of greater amounts indicate that it was not Joyce's straitened financial circumstances that had affected the size of her offerings.

Thirdly, customary celebrations called for a demonstration of gentry largesse, and as befitted a woman of her wealth and status, evidence of Joyce's goodwill was visible on every social occasion. Yuletide offerings, for instance, were a feature of elite as well as popular behaviour, but though Christmas presents were already part of customary practice, Joyce seems to have reserved much of her present-giving for the New Year.²⁴⁸ As Peele suggested in 1553, 'Amongest all the people, whiche live in this worlde by the wonderful benefites of almightie God, there is none, that at this presente tyme dooeth not seke, to gratifie his frende, with some one Newyers gift or other'.²⁴⁹ And such gifts 'remained a vital symbol of relationships at the heart of the body politic' throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods, only falling into decline during the course of the Georgian era.²⁵⁰ Joyce also paid for the customary ale at the first shoeing of one of her young colts, donated money to the clements bowls of Magdalin Morris and Joan Phillips, and gave the waits gratuities at Easter and at civic celebrations. Other entertainers like John Cocamb, who played at Martha Benny's house, and the two fiddlers

²⁴⁵ ff. 27v, 63.

²⁴⁶ f. 45v.

²⁴⁷ Other sources record the visits of young women to their former mistresses; see Gardiner, *English Girlhood*, 121.

²⁴⁸ According to Tusser, 'At Christmas, of `Christ many Carols we sing, And give many gifts, in the joy of that King'; Tusser, *Five Hundred points*, 53.

²⁴⁹ J. Peele, *The maner and fourme how to kepe a perfecte reonyng, after the order of the most worthie and notable accompte, of Debitour and Creditour* (1554?), Aii.

²⁵⁰ Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 22.

who played at the sheep shearing at Garnons were among those who benefited from her generosity. Weddings too played to Joyce's generous nature.²⁵¹ She recorded a gift of 10s to Margaret, Maud Pritchett's maid, when she married the glover, John Bowing, of 5s to Anne Brainch on her marriage to Humphrey Rod, and Anne Hill of the Tavern received 2s 6d 'to her wedding' in December, 1640. A number of her own maids who married and left her service were presented with wedding gowns. Anne Davies, for example, received a black silk mohair wedding dress when she married Joshua Ailway, while Elizabeth Acton received the considerable sum of £800 when she married Francis Geers junior of Garnons, in addition to her wedding dress. Finally, Joyce also appears to have enjoyed taking an active part in customary valentine celebrations, since at least four different men came to be her valentine during the course of her accounts; on at least one occasion, in 1641/42, two men arrived on the same day. Though the holy day of Valentine was abolished under Edward and again under Elizabeth, the tradition of sending tokens of affection or admiration on St Valentine's Day (February 14) had by the mid-seventeenth century become extremely popular, 'alike for married as for unmarried people'. Joyce's valentines may have been less interested in fostering courtship than cementing friendships, but taking part in this particular community ritual provided an additional way for Joyce to maintain credibility: by signalling her continuing—if token—interest in courtship rites.²⁵²

VI. MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICE

Joyce's manuscript also offers valuable insights into the provision of medical services in mid-seventeenth century Hereford and district. It is generally recognised that much of the everyday medical care in the early modern period was undertaken by women, with the preparation of household remedies

²⁵¹ It was usual for masters to offer their servants wedding presents during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; J. R. Gillis, *For Better, For Worse: British Marriages, 1600 to the Present* (Oxford, 1985), 87. It also appears to have been customary for the gentry at least to provide cash; see gifts to brides in Ornsby, ed., *Selections from the Household Books*, 236 and NRO Lest P/6, Household Account of Receipts and Disbursements by Sir Hamon and Lady Alice Le Strange 1606–21, June 1610.

²⁵² Cited in Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 146–7. In her unpublished paper, 'Developing a Sociological Model for Researching Women's Self and Social Identities', Anne Byrne has argued that 'demonstrating interest in becoming coupled could arguably offset any stigma accruing from the social identity of "single woman"'. I am grateful to Dr Byrne, Senior Research Fellow at the Rutgers Centre for Historical Analysis, for allowing me to cite from page 6 of this paper.

constituting an expected part of a woman's domestic role. Gervase Markham, writing in the early 1600s, argued that the 'inward and outward Vertues which ought to be in a complete Woman' included not only her domestic duties, but also 'her skill in Physick, [and] Surgery'.²⁵³ Certainly elite women appear to have been active in the business of medicine preparation and provision from at least the sixteenth century, and many families had collections of medical remedies in manuscript recipe or receipt books, in addition to their own printed 'herbal'.²⁵⁴ Joyce did not purchase a herbal during the period of her accounts, and if she did keep one, no receipt book has survived. Unlike a number of well-known married women, such as Lady Margaret Hoby and Lady Grace Mildmay, she does not appear to have been personally active in either the preparation of medicine, or the provision of medical services. But this should not be taken to imply that Joyce had no interest in matters of health. On the contrary, she clearly had a modicum of knowledge about herbal remedies and there were times when she bought medicaments direct from Thomas Seaburn or Philip Aston, her local apothecaries. Syrup of coltsfoot—used to treat colds—appeared in the accounts on two separate occasions, for example; burgin pitch was bought for Elizabeth Newton's sore eyes in December 1644; and liquorice and aniseed water feature more than once in Joyce's list of purchases from 1645. Aniseed, among other things, helped to ease pain, expel wind, sweeten breath, and 'provoke urine'; liquorice too was good for the kidneys and bladder, but also for hoarseness and eye problems.²⁵⁵ Sugar, well known as a general restorative in addition to being a sweetmeat, makes a number of appearances in the manu-

²⁵³ Cited in A. Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550–1680* (Cambridge, 2000), 50.

²⁵⁴ We know a considerable amount about the medical work of seventeenth century ladies such as Lady Hoby, Lady Anne Halkett and Lady Grace Mildmay, for example. See J. Moody, *The Private Life of an Elizabethan Lady: The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby 1599–1606* (Stroud, 1998); John Loftis, ed., *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett and Ann, Lady Fanshawe* (Oxford, 1979); L. Pollock, ed., *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552–1620* (London, 1993). The Wellcome Library for the History of Medicine holds a very large collection of domestic receipt books, the majority of which include medical remedies.

²⁵⁵ C. Langton, *An Introduction into Physicke, with an universal dyet* (1545?), f. 74v; Royal College of Physicians, *A Physicall Directory, or, A Translation of the London Dispensatory made by the Colledge of Physicians in London*, by N. Culpeper (1649), 11, 63. Liquorice was also thought to be good for the lungs; Thomas Elyot, *The Castle of Health, Corrected, and in some places Augmented* (1610), 22. Such home remedies appear to have been commonplace. See for example the manuscript recipe book of Anne Brumwich in the Wellcome collection which includes receipts for eye waters and directions for making the juice of liquorice for a cold. WLHM MS 160, Anne Brumwich and others, *Booke of Receipts or Medicines*, c. 1625–1700, 3–5, 69.

script, in a variety of circumstances.²⁵⁶ In addition to receiving gifts of sugar from her niece Elizabeth Brown, for instance, Joyce also made a point of sending sugar as a present to others. This included her friend Mrs Eaton whose son Fitzwilliam lay on his death bed in 1638, her maid Joyce Simons, who lay sick at Hereford in 1643, and the young Mrs Geers, when Joyce sponsored her son, Thomas, in the same year.

Joyce also appears to have taken something of a 'self-help' approach to her own health, purchasing a copy of *Hygiasticon; or the right way of preserving health into old age*, in 1645. This approach was characteristic of medical advice literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when lay people often shared knowledge about medicine and the diagnosis of illnesses with medical professionals, even though the latter claimed a greater expertise in both areas. Dietetics was a key element in the understanding and treatment of illness in the early modern period. Belief in the power of individuals to conserve their health via a daily regimen of diet, exercise, sleep and even sexual activity produced a flourishing market for advice books on the subject of health and diet, catering more particularly for the well-to-do urban consumer with a sedentary lifestyle and the ability to make a choice about food.²⁵⁷ *Hygiasticon*, published first in Latin in 1613, and later translated into French, German, Spanish and English, proved to be one of the most popular dietary regimens of the early seventeenth century.²⁵⁸ In attempting to cut through the extensive and complex literature on dietary advice, its author, Leonard Lessius, offered a simplified diet plan based on 'a right Ordering of the diet, and in a certain Moderation of our meat and drink' that was easy for people to understand.²⁵⁹ He claimed that his diet could improve the five senses, reduce anger and melancholy, preserve the memory, aid wit and understanding and quench the heat of lust.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, he not only offered the promise of health leading on 'to extreme old Age', but also an easy death: according to Lessius, when followers of his regime 'are to passe out of this world, their departure is without any great pain or grief, inasmuch as they die by a meere

²⁵⁶ Sugar, according to Thomas Coghlan, 'agreeth with all ages, and all complexions'. Coghlan, *Haven of Health*, 127.

²⁵⁷ Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 47, 159–60.

²⁵⁸ K. Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, 2002), 42.

²⁵⁹ Leonard Lessius, *Hygiasticon: Or, The right course of preserving Life and Health unto extreame old Age*, third edition (1636), 9. Moderation was a key feature of dietary advice, as well as a popular message in many of the religious texts. Ralph Josselin, the rector of Earls Colne in Essex, recorded reading *Hygiasticon* in 1649. He concurred with Lessius that 'a full diet' was not good and that 'neat gula quam gladius'—gluttony kills more than the sword. He resolved forthwith to be more moderate in his diet. A. MacFarlane, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683* (Oxford 1976), 154 and fn 2.

²⁶⁰ Lessius, *Hygiasticon*, 145–86.

resolution'.²⁶¹ How much of the advice Joyce took to heart is difficult to establish, but an earlier purchase of the life of Henry Welby suggests she may have been interested in the author's claims. Welby had apparently lived until the age of 84, having lived the last 44 years of his life without meat or wine.²⁶²

But while dietary regimes could be self-regulated and minor ailments treated with household remedies, more serious illnesses required the services of a doctor. Joyce recorded numerous payments for doctors' consultancy fees throughout the period of the accounts, in addition to the 'physic' they recommended. Many were for her employees—Matthias Rufford, Elizabeth Hackluit, Elizabeth Newton, and Joyce Simons—but Joyce also experienced several periods of ill-health herself. On almost every occasion she was attended by Dr Bridstock Harford, who, according to Webb, was 'a physician of great repute in Hereford'.²⁶³ He was certainly expensive. In December of 1640 Joyce paid him £12 for his counsel the previous spring; his advice in October of the same year cost £3; and in January of 1652/3, he charged her the sum of £6 for his services. Only once did she seek advice from another physician. In 1647, Dr Johnson recommended a water for her sore eyes, which she later purchased from a Mrs Johnson, presumably his wife.²⁶⁴ Other medical practitioners that feature in the accounts include two bonesetters—Edward Trahern, who was paid 1s for setting Mary Baddam's leg, and 'ould Souche'—and Mr Adiss and Mr Marshall, the two Worcester surgeons who were called in to amputate Herbert Jeffreys' broken leg in November 1647.

²⁶¹ Lessius, *Hygiasticon*, 120–21.

²⁶² f. 30. Mid seventeenth-century England also witnessed the appearance of vegetarians who refused meat because they believed killing animals was wrong. See K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (London, 1983), 290; and A. Rudrum, 'Ethical Vegetarianism in Seventeenth-Century Britain: Its Roots in Sixteenth-Century European Theological Debate', *The Seventeenth Century*, 18 (2003), 76–92.

²⁶³ Webb, 'Some passages', 209, fn b. Webb gave no source for this information. Aylmer notes however, that Harford 'who lived to a great age and founded a family of Herefordshire worthies' was active on the ruling committees of the Hereford area from 1649 onwards. G. E. Aylmer, 'Who was Ruling in Herefordshire from 1645–1661?', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 40 (1970), 382. Bridstock Harford matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, on 30 April, 1624, aged 17. He was awarded a B. A. on 21 October, 1626, and perhaps a B. Med. on 24 October, 1628; a D. Med. followed on 21 November, 1639. See Fostered ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis*, 650.

²⁶⁴ Joyce suffered from sore eyes (xerophthalmia), which according to Keith Thomas was a common complaint, occasioned by a diet lacking in Vitamin A, found in yellow and green vegetables. K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century England* (1971; reissued 1978), 7. Doctors did not usually supply drugs, just as apothecaries were not supposed to offer medical advice. Some physicians had business connections with apothecaries, insofar as they recommended that patients have their medicines made up by a specific apothecary. Dr Johnson and his wife may have had a profitable medical as well as marital partnership. Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 47.

Joyce's decision to contribute towards the cost of obstetric care also means that the names of several local midwives were recorded in her accounts.²⁶⁵ Eleanor Tomkins for example, was employed by Doctor Harford to attend his wife during the birth of their son in 1641, while Mrs Driver delivered young Mrs Geers at Garnons; both were active in and around the city of Hereford. Goodwife Lewes of Tedston on the other hand attended Jane Jeffreys at Ham Castle, delivering all three of the children that were born during Joyce's retirement.²⁶⁶

Joyce's involvement in the birth process extended far beyond her contribution to obstetric care, however, serving once again to challenge current understandings of the role and position of single women in early modern society. Heavily influenced by the prescriptive literature on marriage, historians have tended to view such women as largely isolated from the business of birth, suggesting that it was wives and matrons who 'were privileged to attend the lyings in and gossipings from which single women were excluded'.²⁶⁷ The word 'gossip' had emerged from the original form of 'god-sib' or 'god-sibling'—a person who had been asked to witness the birth of a child—and women's gossips usually consisted of friends and relatives, commonly their closest associates, and often their mothers, if they were still living.²⁶⁸ Clearly married women, as the contemporary writer Margaret Cavendish pointed out, would have been in the majority at gossiping meetings, but single women were not automatically excluded.²⁶⁹ Indeed Joyce refers to her own participation at three gossipings: firstly that of Doctor Harford's wife; secondly that of Elizabeth Russell; and finally, that of her nephew's wife, Jane, at which Jane's mother also performed the office.²⁷⁰ In addition, Joyce attended at least two churchings: Anne Bedford invited Joyce to attend her churching in 1640; and she was also present at the service of her former maid, Anne Ailway, in 1642. Normally performed about a month after childbirth to mark the end of the lying-in period, churching involved a short religious service for the

²⁶⁵ It was not uncommon for midwives to receive payments for their services both at the birth and later at the christening from godparents. A. Wilson, *The Making of Man-Midwifery: Childbirth in England, 1660–1770* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995), 26.

²⁶⁶ In late seventeenth and early eighteenth century London, 64 per cent of one midwife's deliveries were for clients she had attended on more than one occasion. D. Evenden, 'Mothers and their midwives in seventeenth-century London', in H. Marland, ed., *The Art of Midwifery: Early Modern Midwives in Europe* (London, 1993), 11.

²⁶⁷ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 287–8.

²⁶⁸ Wilson, *Making of Man-Midwifery*, 25.

²⁶⁹ M. Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *CCIX Sociable Letters* (1664), 207.

²⁷⁰ Many mothers attended their daughters during their lying-in, and occasionally women of a higher social status (than the mother-to-be) would also be present. P. Crawford, 'The construction and experience of maternity in seventeenth-century England', in V. Fildes, ed., *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England* (London, 1990), 21.

mother, the midwife and the gossips that was often followed by a celebration. How many more Joyce may have attended is impossible to establish, for after 1642 she made no further references to the service in her manuscript. The ceremony had drawn increasing criticism from the puritanical elements in the protestant church and the service, along with the office of godparent, was officially outlawed in 1645.²⁷¹

Nevertheless, Joyce's attendance at gossipings serves to realign current understandings of the role of single women within contemporary female culture, lending additional weight to the revisionist view that 'married people and single women did not inhabit radically different social worlds'. Yet at the same time, recent commentators have noted that the emotional lives of the latter may have been 'more strongly centered on women'.²⁷² Women certainly appear prominently in the pages of Joyce's accounts, for she enjoyed a thriving personal and commercial relationship with a large number of women of varying marital status. She bought medicine from Mrs Lucas of Worcester, for example, sold saffron to Mrs Greene, Mrs Gravill and Mrs Norman, paid Mrs Kingman for spinning hemp and lent her coach mares to Mrs Bodenham. But while she may have had a preference for business dealings with women wherever possible, her contacts were far from exclusively or even predominantly female. However securely embedded Joyce was within a female network, that network overlapped a number of other areas of social experience traditionally constructed as masculine. As a respectable citizen and wealthy household head, Joyce attended the local Assizes to keep abreast of the news. She was invited to important local functions, notably the Bishop's feast and the Mayor's annual dinner, and she sent Thomas Simons, James Barroll and Edmund Aston gifts of 10s each on the occasion of their Law Days. Her money-lending activities were overwhelmingly centred on male debtors, many of whom were local dignitaries such as mayors and aldermen, and she had business dealings with a wide range of male craftsmen and tradesmen. Rather than relegating her to the margins of seventeenth century society, Joyce's single status, in combination with her social and economic position, appears to have allowed her the freedom to operate from its centre.

VII. HOBBIES AND PASTIMES

It seems fitting to close this discussion of Joyce Jeffreys' life with a brief account of her hobbies and pastimes. Until she retired to Ham Castle, Joyce's busy social life suggests a gregarious nature that is reflected in visits to friends

²⁷¹ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, 225.

²⁷² Bennett and Froide, eds., *Singlewomen in the European Past*, 26.

and relatives, days out at the local fair, and attendance at a range of civic functions.²⁷³ Her coach mares were regularly shod—on one occasion in Leominster—and she kept her coach in good repair, despite the actions of Merick, the vandalistic servant. But away from the social round of visiting, shopping and networking, Joyce's hobbies included amongst other things an interest in reading, and a favourite subject appears to have been history.²⁷⁴ She bought books by a number of ancient authors such as Herodotus, Quintus Curtius and Justin, for example, and contemporary writers too were capable of holding her attention—Joyce purchased a copy of the life and death of Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1639. She was also keen to keep herself abreast of current political developments, so in addition to the twenty-six pamphlets of 'parliament nuse' she purchased in August 1642, Joyce's collection of books extended to an account of the Earl of Strafford's arraignment, details of the troubles of William Prynne, Dr Bastwick and Mr Burton, and a copy of the 'Scottish Scowt'.²⁷⁵ Two other volumes focused on the works of the writer and playwright Ben Jonson, one on canting and one 'moorning verser', and there was also a book that Joyce referred to as the 'snake in the mans hart', possibly a retelling of an old fable.²⁷⁶

In addition, Joyce took an interest in astrology. She bought 'a litle boke of asstrolagey called Arcandam' by Richard Roussat in 1640, and regularly purchased two-penny almanacs.²⁷⁷ The almanacs may have been used by Joyce to reckon up the amount of interest she charged, but in addition to tables of interest they contained a miscellany of information ranging from dates of fairs and distances between towns to the signs of the zodiac, law sittings and rules for bleeding and purging. Moreover, the second half of the sixteenth century had witnessed a revival of astrology in England, both at the academic and the popular level, so that by the middle of the following century the subject had entered its heyday. This was undoubtedly in part a function of the descent into conflict. During the civil wars both parliamentarians and royalists drew on the propaganda element of astrological predictions, with Wharton and

²⁷³ It is of course possible that Joyce was more active in her social life than her accounts indicate: only those occasions that involved receipt or payment of cash were noted in the manuscript.

²⁷⁴ The most likely titles and publication dates for the books Joyce listed in her accounts are suggested in the footnotes to the text. Adam Fox has argued that 'an awareness of history and tradition was something which was well developed at all levels of society' in the Tudor and Stuart periods. Moreover, the effects of Renaissance humanism had been to give a fresh emphasis to the works of classical authors. A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500–1700* (Oxford, 2000), 213, 117.

²⁷⁵ ff. 50v, 46.

²⁷⁶ Collections of proverbial wisdoms—such as Aesop's *Fables* and the *Distichs* of Cato—became 'standard textbooks' in the early modern period, and wall-hangings were inscribed with popular aphorisms; Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, 117, 147–8.

²⁷⁷ f. 39v.

Lilley, two of the best-known almanac writers, engaged in a heated debate. Interestingly, Joyce recorded the purchase of almanacs published by both the main protagonists during the 1640s.²⁷⁸

Alongside her reading interests, Joyce bought tobacco from London and Worcester and tobacco pipes from Clifton. Mr John Greene, the vicar there, purchased both tobacco and pipes for her on at least one occasion.²⁷⁹ Although tobacco had only been a consumption good outside the Americas since the 1570s, Shammass has argued that by some point in the mid-seventeenth century it had become 'a mass consumption item'.²⁸⁰ The price of tobacco ensured that it was located within the luxury market in the first decade of the seventeenth century, but the increased levels of production within Virginia reduced the farm price from an average of 40d per pound in 1618 to 3d per pound by the 1630s, which in turn drastically affected the wholesale price in London.²⁸¹ The extent to which Joyce indulged in the act of smoking as a pastime is impossible to determine. A court case in the Archdeaconry of Richmond in 1640 indicates that tobacco-smoking and drinking by women in company at least, could have been suggestive of lewd and incontinent behaviour.²⁸² Joyce's pleasure may have been a personal rather than social activity, and is likely, in any case, to have been inextricably linked to her belief in its curative properties. Tobacco was recommended for a wide range of ailments including headaches, watery eyes, joint pain and sciatica amongst others, and commentators were keen to highlight its especial benefit in the case of the elderly.

It is true that those that have decaying bodies, those that are of yeares, and opprest with moysture and fleame, those that are subject to rhumes and the cough, that have cold stomackes, and are inclined to the gout, or have it, or that

²⁷⁸ G. Naworth [G. Wharton], *Naworth. 1645. A new almanack* (1645); W. Lilley, *Merlini Anglici Ephemeris 1647*. Lilley was perhaps the most successful of the almanac writers. His political predictions during the period of civil war brought him instant fame, his first edition in 1644 selling out inside a week. Lilley gradually developed a more committed parliamentary allegiance from 1644, until in 1646 he predicted victory for the parliamentary forces. Wharton was the most important royalist astrologer. B. Capp, *English Almanacs 1500–1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (New York, 1979), 19–21, 24, 73–4, 107.

²⁷⁹ f. 66.

²⁸⁰ Shammass defines mass consumption as occurring when enough of a good is available to allow 25 per cent of the adult population to use it once a day. C. Shammass, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America* (Oxford, 1990), 78. The amount of tobacco imported into England rose from 25,000 pounds in 1603 to reach almost 30,000,000 pounds by 1700. Cited in J. Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London, 1993), 59.

²⁸¹ *ibid.*, 64.

²⁸² See Margaret Barlow, witness, undermining the credibility of Sara Bradley, who according to Margaret 'wold drinck and take tobacco in Company and to swere & [Margaret] hath heard shee was defamed or suspected of incontinencie', Archdeaconry of Richmond, DRCH 19, John Heap 1640.

are subject to any of the imperfections before named, for those it is a singular remedy.²⁸³

In humoral medicine, an approach that still had considerable theoretical and practical dominance in the mid-seventeenth century, life was understood to consist of heat and moisture, which gradually dissipated over time.²⁸⁴ While the young had hot, moist bodies, the elderly body was characterised essentially as cold and dry, 'though accidentally by excrements, as spittle, flegme, & such like, it may seem to be of a moist temperature'.²⁸⁵ Tobacco had hot and drying properties, and its attraction therefore arose at least in part from its medical and therapeutic value, which, though not unchallenged, made smoking acceptable in England and in a number of other early modern cultures. In *Bacchus's Wonder Wercken*, by the Dutch engraver Gillis van Schendel, for example, both men and women are depicted smoking pipes as they surrender to the temptations of tobacco.²⁸⁶ Dutch women may have been more active as smokers than their English counterparts, but English women like Joyce and later Sarah Fell were at least in the business of buying pipes and tobacco.²⁸⁷ Sarah recorded two purchases of tobacco pipes for her sister Susanna in the spring and summer of 1678, and quarter of a pound of tobacco was bought for Mary Lower in July, 1677.²⁸⁸

Moving on to more classically female pursuits, Joyce's accounts fail to demonstrate any evidence of skill in music, even though young gentlewomen

²⁸³ C. T., *An advice how to plant tobacco in England and how to bring it to colour and perfection, to whom it may be profitable, and to whom harmfull* (London, 1615), not paginated.

²⁸⁴ Much of the knowledge of physiology in the Tudor and early Stuart periods was drawn from the works of the classical Greeks. It was from the writings of the second century scholar, Galen, however, that the early modern humoral model was most clearly developed. The body in this model was understood to contain four humors in varying proportions—blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm—the balance of which related directly to its health at any given time. For a brief description of humoral theory see Wear, *Knowledge and Practice*, 37–40. Although humoral medicine remained influential throughout the seventeenth century, chemical and mechanical models of health increasingly provided a challenge to the humoral model. See P. Elmer, ed., *The Healing Arts Health, Disease and Society in Europe, 1500–1800* (Manchester, 2004), chapters 5 and 7.

²⁸⁵ Cohan, *Haven of Health*, 220. Cohan claimed to follow Galen in this, but by the Renaissance, the ageing process appears to have been more complex than a simple move from hot and moist to cold and dry. Galen, in this interpretation, took Aristotle's view that the body in infancy was cold and moist and reached the hot and moist stage only in adolescence; it reached the hot and dry stage in maturity and finally became cold and dry in old age. Cited in Albala, *Eating Right*, 154–5.

²⁸⁶ Goodman, *Tobacco*, 62.

²⁸⁷ Purchases by Joyce of 'hot' spices such as aniseed, cloves and nutmeg, suggest further attempts to counter the effects of ageing, and artichokes, which she also bought, were considered 'a very good restorative unto old age'. W. Vaughan, *Directions for Health; both Naturall and Artificiall*, fifth edition (1617), 93–4.

²⁸⁸ Penney, ed., *Sarah Fell*, 459, 501, 403.

often received tuition on one or more musical instruments. Nevertheless, Joyce certainly appreciated such pastimes. She paid local entertainers Meg and Noddy for their dancing on more than one occasion, and gave 1s to a man with a dancing horse at Hereford fair in 1640. Reference has already been made to the gifts she presented to fiddlers and waits at customary festivals, and in her accounts she also noted the 3d she gave in January 1640/1 to a boy 'that did sing like a black byrd'.²⁸⁹ There are no references to needlework or embroidery, despite the high value attached to such pastimes, and though Joyce may have embroidered her linen with the Coventry blue thread bought especially for the purpose, problems with her eyesight make this unlikely. The extraordinary number of pins she purchased—over 50, 000 examples in a range of colours, sizes and types—led Griffiths to believe that Joyce could have worked ornamental pin-cushions instead of samplers as a pastime.²⁹⁰ Certainly pin 'pillows' of cloth, silk and velvet were being imported into England from at least the 1590s, but Joyce's failure to account for the purchase of any pin-cushions—and the fact that pins were frequently bought with other dressmaking items—suggests they were more likely to be required for the fixing of her daily attire.²⁹¹ But Joyce did spend a small amount of time in traditional domestic pursuits. In 1641 she bought a pot in which to preserve prunes, for example, and during her time at Ham Castle she borrowed 2lb of white sugar from Jane—for which she later paid—to preserve apricots. With more time on her hands in retirement, Joyce seems to have taken an interest in the garden at Ham Castle, paying two men to set 'sweete brier rootes' in the walk there, and she also kept ducks.²⁹²

Indeed, Joyce may have gained most pleasure from her assorted collection of animals and birds. Keeping pets had enjoyed a certain chic amongst those of higher status during the Middle Ages, but by the Tudor and Stuart periods this practice had become the norm in middling status households, particu-

²⁸⁹ f. 41.

²⁹⁰ Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 1, 28. Ornamental pin cushions are held in the Victoria and Albert museum, London.

²⁹¹ Every well-dressed woman had a generous supply of pins for use at her dressing table. S. Groves, *The History of Needlework Tools and Accessories* (London, 1966), 50–51. Pins were not only used in the manufacture of clothing, but also when the clothes were being worn: Robert Careles supplied 24, 000 pins 'of diverse sortes' for the use of Queen Elizabeth at her coronation. Moreover, a woman's 'pin-money' was intended to pay for this purpose—to fasten different parts of her garments together; Arnold, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 218–9. Elizabeth Freke received £200 in 1683 'to buy pins and needles'; R. A. Anselment, *The Remembrances of Elizabeth Freke, 1671–1714*, Camden Fifth Series, 18 (Cambridge, 2001), 317. The process of dressing was often a lengthy one, occasioning Thomas Tomkis to remark that, 'a ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready'; cited in Arnold, ed., *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe*, 110.

²⁹² f. 71.

larly in urban areas. Dogs were 'the most favoured of all animals', although many were also kept for practical purposes by shepherds and farmers, and small lap-dogs were a favourite with ladies. 'No well-to-do woman', according to Keith Thomas, 'was complete without a pet of this kind', a situation that drew a number of complaints from ministers lamenting the fact that 'fashionable ladies neglected their children, preferring to "embrace a whelp or a puppy"'. For single women of course, pet dogs could have gone some way towards filling the emotional gap left by the lack of children, although later seventeenth century references to dog ownership in scurrilous broad-sheets and salacious poetry, where the subject matter was the promiscuous single woman, were more concerned with the sexual rather than the emotional deprivations of their subjects.²⁹³ Joyce recorded receiving at least two dogs between 1638 and 1648—Mr Peter Nash's son-in-law brought her a whelp in 1641 and Tom Simons gave her a little dog in 1642—and two cats. Cats were less conspicuous as pets, although their popularity was growing. Archbishop Laud, for instance, who was especially fond of cats, was given one of the earliest tabby cats to be imported into England in the 1630s, and by the Restoration Defoe could argue that few households in London were without a cat.²⁹⁴ Of the two cats mentioned in the accounts, one was brought as a gift from Hampton Court, and the other, a tabby, was sent by Lady Dansey in 1642. In sending the '[y]elow cypress catt', Lady Dansey may have been aware not only of Joyce's interest in Laud—she bought some pictures of him in October of 1641—but also of his affinity for all things feline.

Until her departure from Hereford, Joyce also kept thrushes in a cage. Birds too were common household pets in the early modern period, and by the seventeenth century the market in London for caged birds was considerable. James I, in addition to making 'unnecessary' dogs fashionable, kept a kingfisher and Samuel Pepys a canary.²⁹⁵ Joyce's pet-keeping may then have been influenced by trends in higher status households, but it could also have fulfilled a psychological need. After her move from Hereford the change in her circumstances seems to have rendered pets either unnecessary or undesirable, for, apart from her ducks, they no longer make an appearance in the accounts. Upon retirement to Ham Castle Joyce could enjoy the daily company of her great nieces and nephews, and possibly William's mother-in-law, Mrs Barkley, who appears in the accounts from January 1645/6. They shared

²⁹³ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 110, 101, 107–8. See also Anon, *The Character of A Town-Miss* (1675), and [R. Ames], *The Folly of Love. A New Satyr Against Woman* (1700).

²⁹⁴ Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 109.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, 102, 111. Pets were among the great variety of goods sold at Bartholomew fair. See B. Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair: A Comedie Acted in the Yeare, 1614* (1631), III, iv.

the cost of two barrels of sturgeon in November 1646 and both were gossips for William's wife, Jane, when her daughter, Joyce's namesake, was born in 1647.

Though elderly—at least in contemporary terms—at the outset of the accounts, at Ham Castle Joyce was clearly beset by further difficulties associated with the ageing process. Problems with mobility are suggested by her purchase of a fir wood staff in 1645, and though she had been wearing spectacles for several years, additional problems with her eyesight are suggested by her purchase of a 'burning glass', most probably a reference to a magnifying glass, from London in the January of 1647/8. She also became increasingly forgetful. Though an examination of her accounts reveals odd instances in which she forgot to enter specific details of payments or receipts, at Ham Castle her increasingly failing memory caused her to lose, among other things, the silver plate on which kept her spectacles, a purse and the cornelian ring that had belonged to her cousin Herbert.²⁹⁶ But in spite of her increasing senility Joyce never allowed herself to become a financial burden on her relatives. Gentry families did offer support to elderly relatives, or those temporarily without accommodation, but only after there had been an agreement on the costs of food and lodging.²⁹⁷ The ever-thrifty Joyce appears to have negotiated a favourable arrangement with William. Half a year's diet for herself and Joyce her maid amounted to only £7 10s at Ham Castle, while she had previously paid Francis Geers £5 a quarter for her own diet at Garnons, in addition to the 50s he charged for her maid.

With her liveried coachman and London gowns, Joyce appears very much in the mode of the grand English lady. An Italian visitor to England in the sixteenth century had commented on the extravagance of the English for fine clothes, and by the early seventeenth century satirists were contemptuous about the consumption patterns of the female branch of the gentry: a lady was not a lady, they argued, 'without her velvet gown, without ribands, without jewels, without french wires, or cheat-bread, or quails, or a little dog, or a gentleman usher'.²⁹⁸ Joyce's accounts do not reveal evidence of French wires or quails or a velvet gown, but she did have curls, jewellery, hair ribbons, fine clothes, pets and even a number of male attendants, if this was only for one day in the year. Like her literary counterpart she paid for the baking of second or cheat-bread, although Joyce also bought manchet—

²⁹⁶ The fact that servants were rewarded for returning these items, however, may signal some element of deception on their part.

²⁹⁷ Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, 94.

²⁹⁸ C. A. Sneyd, ed., *A relation, or rather a true account, of the Island of England*, Camden Society, 37 (1847), 71; G. Chapman, B. Johnson and J. Marsden, *Eastward Ho*, ed. R. W. Van Fossen (Manchester, 1979), 185–6.

wheaten loaves of the finest quality. Yet she was careful to note her smallest items of expenditure, recycling her old pots and pans, and noting any bargains she made in her business dealings.²⁹⁹ Despite her advanced age she demonstrated a taste for fashion that reflected her wealth and social position, and she continued to direct her own affairs for as long as she was able. And while she admirably fulfilled the charitable requirements demanded by her gentry status, her largesse went much deeper, beginning with members of her own household and reaching outwards to encompass friends, neighbours and her extended family. There are no references either in the accounts or the surviving records of Joyce holding any local office, even though women were appointed as overseers of the poor, and had been Justices of the Peace in the sixteenth century.³⁰⁰ Nor does she appear on any of the jurors' lists for Widemarsh ward in the surviving records of the city courts during the period of her accounts.³⁰¹ But if she was excluded from any designated position of power, her lending activities brought her into contact with many of the chief inhabitants of the city, and her position as property holder and household head allowed her to access areas of political influence from which many other women would have been excluded. Amongst her family she was admired and respected, so much so that at least three of her Coningsby relations—Humphrey, Sir Thomas and Katherine—sought her services as executor in the performance of their wills. Humphrey, her half-brother, who had also tasked her with the job of erecting a memorial to him in the church at Neen Sollars, felt assured of her 'honest performance', and explained in his will that he had 'ever founde her lovinge to me, and just to all',³⁰² Sir Thomas, the cousin with whom she spent part of her early adulthood, described her as modest and worthy of his trust.³⁰³ Rather than constituting a familial burden or social outcast, Joyce appears to have lived a full and autonomous life at the very centre of early modern society, providing a vital supply of provincial

²⁹⁹ For example, the cost of materials for Beatrice Ailway's coat in October 1644 came to '15s 4d ob' but Joyce noted that she had only paid 15s; f. 59v.

³⁰⁰ B. H. Putnam, 'Early Treatises on the Practice of the Justices of the Peace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', in P. Vinogradoff, ed., *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History*, VII (Oxford, 1924), 194–96. Elizabeth, wife of Richard Philpots esquire, who died on 1 March 1656/7, was—according to her epitaph in Hereford cathedral—twice mayoress of the city, but this was likely to have been the title of the mayor's consort. Dingley, *History From Marble*, clxxxvii.

³⁰¹ See Appendix I, list number 6.

³⁰² The details of this monument are outlined in Webb, 'Some passages', 190–3.

³⁰³ In naming her as an executor, at least initially, Sir Thomas was influenced by the way she had dealt with Humphrey's affairs, noting in his will that he had chosen his 'modest Cosen Joyce Jefferies the rather for the later proove of her constant perseveracon in manifesting the truth of like kynd, reposed in her by my Cosen her brother [Humphrey Coningsby]', NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby.

credit, and making her own small contribution to the economic expansion of the seventeenth century.

In summarising the life of his great aunt towards the end of his notebook, Henry Jeffreys presented a critical view of Joyce as a needy woman entrenched in economic passivity and financially reckless, a burden on her family:

She had 200 marks given her by her fathers will. She lived with her Mother the Lady Ketilby at Cotheridge & after Sir Francis death, & her Mother who survived him, with Sir Thomas Conyngsby of Hampton Court County Hereford a perpetual Companyon to Dame Phillippa his wife. From the Gratuities of her friends, not forgetting Mr Humphry Conyngisby of Nende Sollers a great traveller & her half Brother her great Benefactor; she soe augmented her estate that by her account book she Received at once 500 li per Annum. Being overfree to her Godchildren whe[r]of Joyce [Elizabeth] Acton was one who married Mr Geers of Garnons & to whom she gave 800 li tho not, so largely to others; by building a hous in Wigmarsh Street within the suburbs of Hereford the expence whereof was 800 li as by her book which was ordered to be pulled down on the time of the late rebellion under King Charles & the materials sold for 60 li by other the Calamitys of war, but worse by knavish servants had soe far consumed it that had she not come to Ham Castle under the guidance & protection of William her nephew she had come to want in her old age. However something pretty considerable was saved from these shipwrack which be very well deserved for him & his children then born at the time of her decease.³⁰⁴

This is not an image that sits comfortably with the material in the accounts. Such views may not have been uncommon at the time, and have in addition characterised the contemporary 'separate spheres' model of gender relations in which women appear as consumers rather than producers of wealth. However the premise of this model is now coming under increasing pressure as the newer focus on women's access to capital begins to redraw the debate on women's relationship with capitalism.³⁰⁵ Joyce presents only a part of the greater challenge, but clearly forms a significant element in our understanding of the complex ways in which women, as well as men, could affect economic growth.

This introduction cannot do justice to the range of evidence Joyce's accounts provide about the life of this particular single woman in mid-seventeenth century Hereford. I hope that the index will serve to ameliorate the needs of readers whose interests I have been unable to cover, and stimu-

³⁰⁴ WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 94. For full details of the property Joyce left to William see FRC PROB 11/24, will of Joyce Jefferies.

³⁰⁵ See D. Green and A. Owens, 'Gentlewomanly capitalism? Spinsters, widows and wealth-holding in England and Wales c. 1800–1860', *Economic History Review*, 56 (2003); A. L. Erickson, 'Coverture and capitalism', *History Workshop Journal*, 59 (2005).

late further research into the lives of single women in early modern England. For as Robert Tittler has recently observed, Joyce's life ran 'counter to cultural and intellectual stereotypes of the spinster'; she broke the mould.³⁰⁶

Joyce Jefferies
of Hom Castle
who died in April 1648
was buried in this Chancel.

Hom Castle gave her birth, Clifton a grave.
The simple records of her life attest
Her Faith, her hope, her charity. From her home
In Hereford she fled, while Civil War
Her lands sequestered, and her dwelling razed;
And here she found repose—yet not a stone
No farewell line to mark her resting place,
Or tell the story of her chequered days.
One, who, a kinsman, felt such honour due,
Pays this last [late] tribute, and inscribes her tomb.

T. E. W A:D: 1857³⁰⁷

³⁰⁶ Tittler, 'Joyce Jefferies and the Possibilities of Spinsterhood', 195.

³⁰⁷ This inscription is found on a brass tablet on the south side of the chancel in the church at Clifton, having been erected by Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, in Joyce's memory. Five years later it was claimed that the author intended the final line of the inscription to read 'this late tribute', rather than 'this last tribute', the stone cutter having made an error. WRO, Antiquarian Notebook, 102.

THE BUSINESS AND HOUSEHOLD
ACCOUNTS OF JOYCE JEFFREYS

RECEIPTS

1638	A new booke of receights of rents, anueties	[f.] 1
Aprill	and interest moneys, begining at St Mary Day, 1638;	
1	written at Heryford, at John Fletchers howse.	
3	Rece of Thomas Caswalle ser[v]itor of Leominster,	
	6 months usse for 20li, due February 17, 1638:	16s
rece in my[?]	Rece of Mr William Moris of Hampton Court,	
7li 10s stok.	9 yeares & halfs usse for 7li 10s stock, due Januarie	
being	19, 1637; the rest I forgave his father & him:	50s
3li 4s ¹	Rece of Mr James Newton of Bodenham, 6 months	
	usse for 50li upon morgage of land, due January 26,	
	1637:	40s
11	Rece of John Winnies, 6 months rent for the Free	
	Towne farme & my free hould there, due at St Mary	
	Day, 1638:	47li 5s 10d
18	Rece from my cosin Brabazon of Eaton, by Mr Caleb	
	Moore, 6 months usse for 150li, due Aprill 18, 1638:	6li
rece in	Rece of Mr John Walle of Kingsland, 2 yeares usse	
my[?] 40li	for 40li stock, due January 26, 1637:	6li 8s
stock &	Rece of him in full disscharge of the charge in	
made even	law of the above written 40li:	4li 14s
18	Rece from my cosin Thomas Barneby of Bromyerd,	
	6 12 months usse for 60li, due February 13, 1637,	
	by Mr Evet:	4li 16s
	Rece of Daniell Powle of Leinterdine & Mr Richard	
	Acton of Ivington, 6 months usse for 20li,	
27	due Aprill the 7, 1638 first tyme:	16s
May	Rece of James Bithell of New Church, 2 yeares	
3	usse for 10li, due 7, 1638:	32s
rece my	My cosin Browne had 6s for law charges of Mr Bethel.	
50li & made	Rece of Mr Isack Weaver of the Broome in Pembruge	
even	parish, 6 months usse for 50li, due May 3, 1638:	40s
19	Rece of Edmund Steade of Leominster, 6 months	
26	usse for 10li, due Aprill 11, 1638:	8s
	Rece of Thomas Badnidge, glover, 6 months usse	
26	for 10li, due May 8, 1638:	8s
	Rece of John Wanklin, from his father William	
	Wanklin of Leominester, one yeares usse for	
28	15li, due Aprill 4, 1638:	24s
29	Rece of James Seaburn & Francis Caradine, mercer,	
	6 months usse for 20li, due March 15, 1637:	16s
June	Rece of William Brainch for a fatt wether:	13s 6d
2	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, 6 months	

¹ Joyce forgave Moris and his father £3 4s.

5	usse for 50li, due Aprill 24, 1638:	40s
Dudson	Rece of James Dudson of Sutton, one years	
20	usse for 20li, due January 5, 1637:	32s
	Rece of worthy Mr Fitzwilliam Conyngesby, my half yeares anuety, due at St Mary Day, 1638, out of the lordship of Nene Sollers & Cutston:	33li 6s [8d]
	Rece the same tyme of Mr Conyngesby, my half yeares anuety given me by Sir Thomas Coningesby:	5li
29	Rece of Mr Thomas Hackluit of Kintley, 6 months usse for 200li upon a stattute, due June 9, 1638: ²	16[li]

140li 6s tru cast

1638 Heryford receights [f. 1v]

July		
1		
rece in my 10li & for- gave her the odde weecks usse	Rece of Mrs Sible Weekes, widow, by Mr Roger Seaburn, 3 months usse for 10li, due June 7, 1638:	4s
	Rece of Mr Isack Weaver of the Broome in Pembruge parish, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 27, 1638:	16s
10	Rece of Mr John Dansey, 6 months usse for	
11	40li, due Aprill 10, 1638:	32s
16	Rece from William Simons of Newton, one year & halfs usse for 5li, due March 15, 1637:	12s
17	Rece from Walter Wallton, by his daughter, 6 months usse for 10li, due July 14, 1638:	8s
the first	Rece of Mr Peter Dawncer of Moorton, the first	
18	6 months usse for 50li, due July 17, 1638:	40s
	Rece of Mr Richard Nichollets, from Mr Edward Sallway of Stanford, 6 months usse for 20li, due May 18, 1638:	16s
28	Rece of Mr Henry Pearle of Dewsalle, 6 months usse for 100li, due June 19, 1638:	4li
August	Rece of Mr John Seaburn of Worsester, mercer,	
3	one yeares usse for 200li, due March the first, 1638:	16li
	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew, vintner, 6 months usse for 10li, due June 4, 1638:	8s
	Rece of Mr Richard Collins of Upton, one yeares usse for 15li stock, due Aprill 16, 1638:	24s
	Rece of Richard Higgins of Warton, 6 months usse for 50li, due May 12, 1638:	40s

² Joyce appears to have incorrectly entered the interest period here—elsewhere she charged £16 for £200 for a period of one year (the current statutory rate of 8 per cent).

19	Rece of Mr Miles Hill, bailiff, of Leominster, for odde	
this 30li was	usse money for 30li from the date of the ould bond till	
made up	seling the new:	4s
100li & new	Rece of Mr Richard Stockwall, tailer, of London, for	
bond taken	one yeares usse of 50li, due May 25, 1638:	4li
22	Rece of Thomas Chip of Basterstree, 6 months	
	usse—the first after his father John Chips >died<—for	
25	50li, due August 25, 1638:	40s
Septembr	Rece from John Seaburne of Worcester, mercer, by	
1	his brother George Seaburn, 6 months usse for	
	200li, due by my cosin Ansley of Bruckend, due	
	September 1, 1638:	8li
	Recē of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington & Thomas	
	Powle of Stockton bery, 6 months usse for 20li, due	
	July 30, 1638:	16s
5	Rece of Franncis Spencer of Cleihunger, by his	
	dawghter Katern, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due	
	July 10, 1638:	10s
Widdow	Rece for on[e] yeares rent for a litle roome in the back	
Golding	lane, due at Bartlemewtide, 1638:	5s
	Rece for an ould killen heare:	5s
14	Rece of Mr Edmund Steade of Leominster, 6 months	
rece in my	usse for 10li 8s, & 9 months for 10li, due September 11,	
20li stock	1638:	20s
made even	Rece of Mr Edward Lacon of Newton, 6 months	
	usse for 30li, due September August 14, 1638:	24s
17	Rece of Walter James of Widmarsh Streete, for	
	a heap of stable mucke:	19s
due July	Rece from Mr Thomas Pember, 18 months usse	
[?] 1638	for 20li:	48s

51li 11s tru cast

1638	Heryford receights	[f.] 2
September		
24	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford,	
	6 months usse for 100li—John Hides dett—due	
	September 13, 1638:	4li
October	Rece of Phillip Wallis of Widmarsh Moore, one yeares	
2	usse for 32li 10s, upon surerender of 5 akers of tilladge	
	in Chalow feeld in Holmer, due September 27, 1638,	
	the 20li for one yeare, & the 12li 10s half a yeare:	42s
7	Rece of William Eysham, tanner, 6 months usse for	
	12li 10s, due August 5, 1638:	10s

20s I for- gave him	Rece of Richard Howorth, serviter, in part of 5 years usse for 15li upon pawne of his leace of Burhop, due 20 May, 1638:	4li 8s
9	Rece of Thomas Chip of Baterstree, odde usse of 50li till his new bond was sealed:	6s 6d
13	Rece of Mr William Camm of Dimock, 2 yeares & 3 quarters usse for 20li, due September 24, 1638:	4li 8s
rece 4li in part of my 20li stock	Rece of Mr Philip Trahern, 6 months usse for 20li due June 22, 1638:	16s
	Rece for lard in all, since the first of Aprill, 1638:	4s 2d
13	Rece for goose liker:	8s 9d
	Rece for soft liker & goose liker:	9s 6d
	Rece for cowcumbers—5s 6d; cabidge & worts—13d ob:	6s 6d ob
November	Plumbes, & safern—4d; a more safern—6d:	10d
12	Rece from Henry Eisham, by his brother William Eysham, the first 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due October 20, 1638:	10s
the first	Rece of John Winnes in full of my half years rent for the Free Towne farme & my free land there, due at Micklmas, 1638:	47li 5s 10d
17	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of >the< Court of Park, 6 months usse for 50li upon bond, due September 2, 1638:	40s
	Rece of John Giles, one yeares usse for 4li, due August 24, 1638:	6s 4d
the first rece in 5li of my 10li stock	Rece from Mr Thomas Curteous, alderman of Heriford, by Mrs Burghill, 6 months usse for 10li, due August 26, 1638:	8s
20	Rece from Thomas Vye of Brierley, by his wyfe, 6 months usse for 60li, due July 28, 1638:	48s
24	Rece from my cosin Brabazon of Eaton, by Mr Moore, m months usse for 150li, due October 18, 1638:	6li
rece in my 100li & made even 25 ³	Rece of Mr Edmund Whittington of Mathon, one yeares usse for 100li, due October 5th, 1638:	8li
rece my 50li also	Rece of Richard Higgins of Warton, almost half a yeares usse >2 weeks les< for 50li—he paid in my stock then—due October 27, 1638; this went to pay Mr John Hackluit:	36s
I lent Mr Hackluit 700li more to make yt 800li.	Rece of Mr John Hackluit of Warton & Mr Miles Hill of Leominister, one quarter of a yeares usse for 100li, due October first, 1638:	40s
	Rece from Mr John Dansey of Brinshop, by his fathers man, 6 months usse for 40li, due October 10, 1638:	2s

³ This date refers to the entry re Edmund Whittington.

29	Rece of Lewes Hunt, 6 months usse	
Lewse Hunt	for 3li, due June 4, 1638:	2s 10d
	Rece of Alixander Mun, 6 months usse for	
	60li, due September the second, 1638:	48s

92li 9s 3d ob tru cast

1638	Heryford receights	[f. 2v]
November		
8	Rece of [deletion] Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 8, 1638:	8s
	Rece of Mr Charles Baskerville of Stannton, one yeares usse for 20li, due November 6, 1638:	32s
	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington & Daniell Powle, 6 months usse for 20li, due October 7, 1638:	16s
	Rece of Maude Prichet, half a years rent for her howse rent, due at Miklmas, 1638:	30s
9	Rece for a heifers hide killed in my howse:	11s 6d
	Rece of John Birt of Sutton, half a yeares usse for 200li, due September the 11th, 1638:	8li
14	Rece of him, which I laied out for the post fine when he morgaged som land to me in Sutton:	10s
16	Rece of Mr Roger Cresswell of the Nash, 6 months usse for 20li, due July 15, 1638:	16s
24	Rece of Mr Isack Weaver of the Broome, 6 monnth usse for 50li, due November 3, 1638:	40s
Desember		
11	Rece of yonge Mr William Freeman of Blockley, 12 months usse for 20li, due Desember 29; 18d abated for abatement of tyme taking it in before the full tyme:	30s 6d
rece in my 20li stock & made even	Rece of Lightfoote the pewterer, for an ould band pott of pewter at 1s the pownd—5 pownd:	5s
11	Rece of John Byrt of Sutton, 6 months usse for 200li upon morgage of land, due September 11 1638:	8li
24	Rece of Phillip Bowin for a cow hide:	15s
31	Rece of Mr Henry [deletion] Pearlle, parson of Dewshalle, 6 months usse for 100li, due Desember 19, 1638:	4li
first tyme	Rece of John Lewes, glover, of Heriford, the first 6 months usse for 20li, due November 11th, 1638, being for the dett of Richard Awbrey, gentlman:	16s
January		
9	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 24, 1638:	40s
R [sic]	Rece for a heyfers hide killed in my howse:	11s
	Rece of Mr Dawncer, 6 months usse for 50li, due January 17, 1638:	40s

18	Rece of Maud Prichet, 6 months usse for 20li, due on Candlmas day, 1638:	16s
	Rece of Mr Giles Lawrance, 18 months usse for 15li, due Desember 26, 1638:	36s
	Rece of Walter Walton of Newton, 6 months usse for 10li, due January 14, 1638:	8s
23 31 Dudson February	Rece of James Dudson, one yeares usse for 20li, due January 5, 1638:	32s
4 rece in my 300li & made even	Rece of Mr John Bridges of the Court of Park, 3 months usse for 300li, due January 27, 1638: Rece of Mr Harbert Awbrey, one yeare & a halfs usse for 50li, due February the first, 1638:	6li 6li
24	Rece of John Giles of Marckle, 6 months usse for 4li, due February 24, 1638:	3s 2d

44li 16s 2d tru cast

1638	Heryford receights	[f.] 3
February		
24	Rece from Francis Spencer of Cleyhunger, by his daughter Anne Spencer, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due February 10, 1638:	10s
	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 22, 1638:	8s
	Rece of Oliver Towldervile of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due January 5, 1638:	8s
rece my stock of 20li & made even	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington & Thomas Powle, 6 months usse for 20li, due January 30, 1638: And for odde usse when the stock was paid in:	16s 2s
24	Rece of Phillip Baker of Mardin, one yeares usse for 300li upon morgage of land in Mardin, due February 28, 1638:	24li
Phil Baker		
28	Rece of William Eysham, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due February 6, 1638:	10s
March		
2	Rece from John Millinton of Tewxbery, mercer, 6 months rent for 2 pastures at Bruckend, being the usse that my cosin >Ansley< owethe me for 200li stock, due the first of March, 1638:	8li
6	Rece of Richard Norman of Heriford, clothier, one yeares usse for 30li, due Desember 7th, 1638:	48s
13	Rece from my cosin Thomas Barneby of Bromyard, by his sonne John Barneby, one yeares usse for 60li, due February 13, 1638:	4li 16s
	For a paier of shuse for Megge Androse:	2s 3d

29	Rece of Thomas Vie of Brierley, 6 months usse for 80li, due January 28, 1638:	48s
Mr John Edmunds London receights	Rece by Mr John Edmunds of London, scrivener, after Mr John Edm Eatons death, 6 months usse of Mr Page, due October 18, 1638:	16s
	Rece of Mr Gibbons, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 12, 1638:	16s
	Rece of Mr Patrick Ruthen, a Scott, 6 months usse for 50li, due November 15, 1638:	40s
	Rece of Mr Mathew Pack, 6 months usse for 50li, due November 19, 1638:	40s
	Usse for 24li & 4s that Mr John Eaton owed me at his death is lost, & the stock also.	
	Rece for safern of Mrs Greene:	1s
	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford, 6 months usse for 100li, due March 13, 1638:	4li
53li 19s ob this side	Rece of Thomas Vye of Rece at Bradward the whole yeare past, for all rents, and corne and all comodities ellse:	160li 0 9d
	Som totall receved at Bradward & the Free Towne & every place ellce, and from all places & for all duese, ending one [on] St Mary Eve, 1638:	[deletion] 543li 2s 2d ob

1639	New receights of rents, anueties & usse moneys,	[f. 3v]
Aprill	begininge at St Mary Day, 1639; written at	
1	John Fletchers howse in Widmarsh Streete, in Heryford.	
1	Imprimis—rece of Thomas Vye of Brierley, 6 moneths usse for 60li, due January 28, 1638:	48s
10	Rece of Mr Edward Laccon of Newton, 6 months usse for 30li, due February 12, 1638:	24s
11	Rece of Mr Phillip Traehern of Heriford, alderman, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 22, 1638:	16s
12	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Court of Parck, 6 months usse for 50li upon bond, due March 2, 1638:	40s
13	Rece of Mr William Camm of Dimock, 6 months usse for 16li, due Desember 24, 1638:	12s 8d
15	Rece for a bullocks hide killed in my howse at Ester:	18s
23	Rece of Mr Roger Cresswell, 6 months usse for 20li, due January 15, 1638, by Mathias Rufford:	16s
23	Rece of my cosin Wallop Brabazon of Eaton, 6 months usse for 150li, due Aprill 18, 1639:	6li
	Rece for gardin seedes—5s; & for millions—8d:	5s 8d
	Rece for leecks—2s; and for safern of Mrs Gravill & others—8s:	[blank]

	Rece for lard and lickier at sundery tymes:	9s 1d
	Rece of Mr Camm of Dimock, 6 months usse for 16li stock, due Desember 21, 1638:	12s 8d
	Rece of Mr John Dansey of Brinshop, 6 months usse for 40li, due Aprill 10, 1639:	32s
sould my 2 coache mares & a coult a fortnight ould rece in 200li of my 400li stock May 1 14 26	Rece of the Lady Grisell Points, for my 2 bay coache mares I sould to her for:	26li
	Rece for a suckinge coult of James Ailway, that one of my yonge coache mares brought:	5s
	Rece of Mr Charles Baskarville of Stanton upon Wye, 6 months usse for 20li, due May 6, 1639:	16s
	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Court of Parck, 5 months usse for 200li, a month befor the first of May, 1639:	7li 6s 8d
	Rece of the same Mr Peter Nash, 6 monthes usse for 200li more, due the first day of May, 1639:	8li
	Rece of Maud Pritchett, half a yeares usse rent for her howse, due at Holirood Day, 1639:	30s
	Rece of Mr Alyxander Munne of Dillwin & Mr Thomas Munn of Haulton, 6 months usse for 60li, due March the second, 1638:	48s
31 the first June 1 2	Rece of Thomas Chip of Baterstree, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill the 11th, 1639:	40s
	Rece of Mr John Weaver, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill 24, 1639, by his brother Robert Weaver:	40s
	Rece of William Eysham, for the dett of his brother Henry Eysham, 6 months usse for 12li due 12li 10s, due Aprill 20, 1639:	10s
	Rece of John Lewes, from Mr Richard Awbrey, 6 months usse for 20li, due May 11, 1639:	16s
safern 8	Rece of Mr William Heryford for an ounce quarter of safern:	10s

69li 11s 1d tru cast⁴

1639 June 9	Heryford receights	[f.] 4
	Rece from Mr Thomas Hackluit of Kintley, by his sonne Mr Miles Hackluit, one yeares usse for 200li upon a statute, due June 9th, 1639:	16li
John Birt heare even	Rece of John Byrt of Sutton, half a yeares usse for 200li, due March 11, 1638:	8li
	Rece of Mercer of Moqrton, usse for 30li a while:	4s

⁴The figures for this folio as given above actually total £69 13s 1d.

rece in my whole stock & made even	Rece of Mr James Newton of Bodenham, one yeares usse for 50li, due January 26, 1638:	4li
	Rece also for the usse of 8li upon bond and odde usse for the 50li, till Mr Newton paid in the 58 pownde, in May 29, 1639:	7li 11s
	Rece of Mr Richard Acton & Daniell Powle, 6 months usse for 20li, due April 7, 1639:	16s
10	Rece of Thomas Badnidge, glover, of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due May 8, 1639:	8s
	Rece of James Seaburn of Sutton, one yeares usse for 20li, due March 15, 1638:	32s
rece in my 50li stock & made even	Rece of Mr James Newton of Bodenham, one yeares usse for 50li due January 26, 1638:	4li
	Rece of the same Mr James Newton for usse of other moneys that he owed me uppon an other bond, besides the first 50li uppon morgage of land: ⁵	7li 11s
shuerties for Thomas Smiths dett	Rece of Walter Bridgwaters of Caldowell, 3 yeares usse for 40s, due May 20, 1639:	9s 6d
	Rece of Mr Aston and Mr Christofer Higgins, one ⁶ 2 yeares usse for 50li, due January 8, 1638:	8li
23	Rece by Mr Richard Stockwall of London, of Mr Mathew Packe of London, vintner, 6 months usse for 50li, due May 19, 1639:	40s
rece in my 50 li & gave it to my nephew John Jeffreys	Rece of Mr Isack Weaver 6 months usse for 50li due May the 3, 1639:	40s
	Rece for half a hundred of bricks that were left:	15d
muttons skinnes	Rece for 19 muttons skinmes, whereof 19 were killed in my howse at Heryford and one was killed and flaied in the medow by theefes, the flesh caried away & the skin left there; I sould these 19 at sundry prises for:	34s 9d
a mutton	Rece of Mr Henry Mellin, maior of Heryford, for one fatt mutton, the last of 20:	10s
	Rece for 2 kidd skinnes & on[e] lambe skin:	1s
27	Rece of Mr Peter Dawncer of Moorton, 6 months usse for 50li, due July 17, 1639:	40s
	Rece of Lewes Hunt, one yeares usse for 3li, due June 4th, 1639:	5s 8d
July 25	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due June 22, 1639:	8s
30	Rece of Oliver Towldervile, 6 months for 10li due July the 5th, 1639, by Mathias Rufford:	8s


56li 9s 2d tru cast

⁵ In the manuscript this entire section has a line drawn vertically through it, but the margin details have not been altered.

⁶ In the manuscript the number '2' has been written above '~~one~~', not next to it.

1639	Heryford receights	[f. 4v]
July		
26	Rece of Walter Walton of Newton, 6 months	
rece in 5li	usse for 10li, due July 14, 1639:	8s
of the 10li	Rece of Mr Richard Nicholas, >12< 6 months usse for	
	20li, due by Mr Edward Salway of Stanford,	
	deceased, the 18 of May, 1639; Mr Nicholas is shuerty:	32s
29	Rece of Mr Milles Hill of Leominster, 6 months	
the first	usse for 20li, due May 26, 1639:	16s
tyme	Rece of Richard Norman, clothier, of Heriford, 6 months	
30	usse for 30li, due June the 7, 1639:	24s
August	Rece of Mr Henry Pearle of Dewshall, 6 months	
7	usse for 100li stock, due June 19, 1639:	4li
21	Rece of William Eysham, 6 months usse for 15li, due	
	August 5, 1639:	12s
September	Rece from Mr John Millington, mercer, of Tewxbery,	
3	6 months rent for 2 pastures at Bruckend,	
by Rich Paine	for my cosin Edmund Ansleys dett, due September 1, 1639:	8li
recd it	half a yeares anuety, due to me at Michaelmas, 1638,	
forgotten	out of the lordship of Nene Sollers:	33li 6s 8d
to be wri-	And 6 months usse anuety by Sir Thomas Coningessbyes	
ten till	gift, due the same Micklmas, 1638:	5li
now	Rece of the same Mr Conyngesbye, my half years	
	anuety, due at St Mary Day, 1639:	33li 6s 8d
rece	Rece for my anuety, given by Sir T Conyngesby, due at	
London	St Mary Day, 1639:	5li
by Mr	Rece of Mr Gibonns of Clements Danes parish,	
John Ed-	6 months usse for 20li, due May 12, 1639:	16s
munds	Rece of Mr Edward Lacon of Newton, 6 months usse	
5	for 30li, due August 14, 1639:	24s
	Rece of Peter Corbitt, miller, for 2 standard powles:	5s
18	Rece of Francis Spencer of Cleyhunger, 6 months	
	usse for 12li 10s, due August 10, 1639:	10s
October	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, the first 6	
2	months usse for 50li, due August 12, 1639, by his	
	eldest son: ⁷	40s
3	Rece of Mr Edward Wallwin of Foy, one yeare & a halfs	
	usse for 10li, due September 12, 1639:	24s
	Rece of John Smith of Ewe Withington, for the	
	later math of a pasture called the Cobnalls:	5li
first	Rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, the first 6 months	
tyme	usse for 100li, due August 19, 1639:	4li


⁷The phrase 'by his eldest son' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heryford, 6 months usse for 100li, due September 13, 1639:	4li
11	Rece of Thomas Chippe of Baterstree, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 11, 1639:	40s
	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withington, 6 months usse for 20li, due September 15, 1639:	16s
first tyme	Rece of Sir Robert Whitney, the first 6 months usse for 100li, due September the second, 1639:	4li
	And rece of the same Sir Robert Whittney also the first 6 months usse for 50li, due October 8, 1639:	40s
rece 10li of my 16li stock	Rece of Mr Camm of Dimock, 9 months usse for 16li stock, due September 24, 1639:	18s 8d
	Rece of Mr Francis Tranter of Much Mauncell, the first 6 months usse for 50li, due October the 3, 1639:	40s

123li 19s tru cast⁸

1639	Heryford receights	[f.] 5
October		
19	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Court of Park in the parish of Ledbery, 6 months usse for 50li, due September second 1639, and one months usse more for the same, due October the second, 1639:	46s 8d
rece in my 50li & made even		
20	Rece of Mr John Dansey of Brinsop, by his mothers maide, 6 months [deletion] usse for 40li, due October 10, 1639:	32s
29	Rec of Richard Higgins of Warton, half a yeares usse for 800li, due upon morgage out of the farme of Warton, by Mr John Hackluit, due October 28, 1639:	32li
Warton		
30	Rece of my cosin Wallop Brabazon of Eaton, 6 months usse for 150li stock, due October 18, 1639:	6li
November		
2	Rece of Mr Peter Nash, 6 months usse for 200li uppon a statute, due November the first, 1639:	8li
2	Rece for a fatt heifers hide killed in my howse:	13s
	Rece of Mr Phillip Trahern, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 22, 1639, by Mathias Rufford: ⁹	16s
7	Rece of Mr Charles Baskerville of Stannton, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 6, 1639:	16s

⁸The figures for this folio as given above actually total £123 17s 0d.⁹The phrase 'by Mathias Rufford' has been written above the line drawn to close the entry. The epitaph to Philip Trahern in the cathedral at Hereford revealed that he was twice mayor of the city, a Justice of the Peace and also lieutenant colonel of the military bands that were trained in the city at the time Hereford was besieged by the Scots. He died on 17 October 1645, aged 79. T. Dingley, *History From Marble* [Volume I], J.G. Nichols, ed., Camden Society (1867), 80, clxviii.

Mr Thomas Hackluit	Rece of Mr Thomas Hackluit of Kintley, 5 months usse for 200li, due November 9, 1639:	6li 13s 4d
9		
 the first	Then his new statute beganne for 400li dett. Rece of Mr William Cater of Heriford, the first 6 months usse for 100li, due October 4, 1639:	4li
	Rece of Anthony Aldridge, mason, for 160 bricks that were left of my chimney, at 2s 6d a 100: ¹⁰	4s
10	Rece of Maud Prichet, half a yeares rent for her howse, due at Allholandtide, 1639:	30s
19	Rece from ould Mr Humfrey Salway of Stanford, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 18, 1639; rece by Mr Wright, the parson of Stanfords sonne:	16s
	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmore, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 24, 1639:	40s
30		
Desember	Rece of Mr Richard >Acton< of Ivington and Daniell Powle, 6 months usse for 20li, due October 7, 1639:	16s
6	Rece of Thomas Badn[i]dge of Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 8, 1639:	8s
	Rece of Lewes Hunt 6 months usse for 3li due Desember 4, 1639:	2s 10d
first tyme	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Ainestree, 6 months usse for 60li, due Desember 9, 1639:	48s
10		
11	Rece of John Dupper of Es Erdissley, 2 yeares usse for 10li, due November 7, 1639:	32s
	Rece of John Giles of Much Marckle, 6 months usse for 4li, due August 24, 1639:	3s 2d
rece in my 20li stock & made even	Rece of Mr Richard Seaburn of Heriford, cowncelor, one yeare and 11 months usse for 20li, due Desember 17, 1639:	3li
first mutons skins	Rece of Walter >James< for two muttons skinns; Mr Miles Hackluit bought them at Kinton:	3s
	Rece of John Lewes, glover, from Mr Richard Awbrey, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 11, 1639:	16s
	Rece for a fatt cowhide killed against Cristmas >1639<:	16s
rece in my stock & made even	Rece of Mr Henry Pearle, parsonn, of Dewshall, 6 months usse for 100li, due Desember 19, 1639:	4li
28	Rece for a fatt porck of Humfrey Rod:	14s

82li 6s tru cast

¹⁰The phrase 'at 2s 6d a 100' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

1639	Heryford receights	[f. 5v]
January		
rece	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of the Crowne in Leomenster, 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 22, 1639:	8s
5	Rece of Oliver Towldervile, 6 months usse for 10li, due January 5th, 1639:	8s
rece in my 10li & made even		
5	Rece of Mr Richard Collins of Upton, one yeare and a halves usse for 15li stock, due October 16, 1639:	36s
rece in 5li of the 15li first tyme	Rece of Mr Thomas Vickeres of Tarington, 6 months usse for 50li, due August 5th, 1639:	40s
9	Rece of William Wanklins wyfe of the Yathowse in Leominster, one yeare and a halves usse for 15li stock, due October 4, 1639:	36s
11		
12	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew, vintner, 6 months usse for for 10li 10li, due Desember 4, 1639:	8s
12	Rece of Allis Bullock, from her husband William Bullock, dier, the first 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 5, 1639:	8s
17	Rece of Mr Peter Dawncer of Moorton uppon Lugge, 6 months usse for 50li, due January 17, 1639:	40s
28	Rece of Mr William Isack Weaver, 6 months usse for 50li, due November 3, 1639:	40s
Mr Isack Weaver	Rece also of him, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 24, 1639:	16s
28	As for the other whole yeare that was due in June 24, 1639, I did rece hit the last yeare and not putt downe till now for the 20li:	32s
February		
3	Rece of Francis Saunders, for the pasture by the White Cross, for the whole yeare ending at Kandlmas, 1639:	5li & 20s is behinde all rece
7	Rece of Mr Harbert Awbrey, 6 months usse for 50li, due August the first, 1639:	40s
by James Watis	Rece of Mr Edward Lacon of Newton, 6 months usse for 30li, due February 14, 1639:	24s
14	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston & Mr Christofer Higgins, both of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li[?], due January 8, 1639:	40s
Selwins dett		
19	Rece of Thomas Vye of Brierley, one yeares usse for 60li, due January 28, 1639:	4li 16s
28	Rece of William Jones, servant to my cosin Thomas Barneby of Bromycard, one yeares usse for 60li stock, due February 13, 1639:	4li 16s
28		

28	Rece from my cosin Thomas Barnebye of Bromyeard [deletion] one yeares usse for 60li, due February 13,	
28	1639, by William Joanes:	4li 1[6]s
Phil Baker	Rece of Mr Thomas Baker Phillip Baker of Mardin,	
28	6 monthes usse for 300li upon morgage, due February 28, 1639:	12li
London	Rece by Mr John Edmunds, scrivener, of Mr Mr Page,	
rece by	one yeares usse for 20li, due October 18, 1639:	32s
Mr John	Rece by him from Mr Gibbons, 6 months usse for	
Edmunds	20li, due November 12, 1639; all this he hath accounted:	16s
March	Rece of Mr Alixander Munne of Dillwin, one	
6	yeares usse for 60li, due March the second, 1639:	4li 16s
11	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, 6 months usse for 50li, due February 12, 1639:	40s

54li 12s tru cast

1639	Heryford receights	[f.] 6
March		
14	Rece of Walter Wallton of Newton, the first 6	
the first	months for 5li stock, due January 25, 1639:	4s
19	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford,	
	6 monthes usse for 100li, due March 13, 1639:	4li
21[?]	Rece of William Eysham, tanner, of Heriford,	
	6 months usse for 15li stock, due February 6, 1639:	12s
25	Rece of Francis Spencer of Cleyhunger, 6 months	
	usse for 12li 10s, due February 10, 1639:	10s
26	Rece of Mr Giles Lawrence of Worcester, onne years	
	usse for 15li, due Desember 26, 1639:	24s
for my cosin	Rece of Mr John Millington of Tewxbery, mercer,	
Edmund	6 months usse for 200li, due March the first, 1639:	8li
Ansleys dett	Now he left the >2< grownds at Bruckend.	
26	Rece of Mr Fitzwilliam Coningesby, esquier,	
	for my half yeares anuety due unto me at	
	Micklmas last, 1639, owt of the lordship of Nene Solers:	33li 6s 8d
forgott	Rece of the same Fitzwilliam Conyngesby, esquier,	
till now	my half yeares anuety given me by worthy	
to put down	Sir Thomas Conyngesby, knight, in his will, due at	
Aprill	Miklmas, 1639:	5li
1640	Rece of Richard Higgins of Warton, in part of	
Warton	32li usse for 800li lent to Mr John Hackluit of	
[deletion]	Warton, and due the 28 of Aprill, 1640, in part rece:	23li
28	Rece of John Byrt, half a years usse for	
May	200li upon morgage, due March the 11th, 1639:	8li
3	Rece of Maud Prichet, half a years rent for her howse, due the third of May, 1640:	30s

27 rece by my cosin Jeffreys	Rece from Mr Humfrey Salway of Stanford, 6 months usse for 20li that his sonne Mr Edward Salway owed me in his lyfe tyme, due May 18, 1640:	16s
June 24	Rece of noble Mr Fitzwilliam Conyngesbye, my half yeares anuety given me by my loving brother Humfrey Conyngesby, esquier, deseassed, the som of 33li 6s 8d, due to me at St Mary Day, 1640:	33li 6s 8d
24	Rece the same tyme, my half yeares anuety given my [me] by worthy Sir Thomas Conyngesby, knight, due at Annunciation, 1640:	5li
30 the first	Rece >of< Mr Maior, James Barroll, 6 months usse for 50li, due June 30, 1640, by Roger Wellinton:	40s
30	Rece of Lewes Hunte, 6 months usse for 3li, due June 4, 1640:	2s 10d
30	Rece of Mr Phillip Traherne, one yeares usse for 20li, due June 22, 1640:	32s
30	Rece of Mr Phillpotts & of Mr Robert Russell, for 2 ounce of English safern growing in my gardin:	20s
	Rece for 20 muttons skinnnes killed in my howse, from the 30 of Desember, 1639, to the 20 of June, 1640:	27s 4d
October	Rece for one kid skin—4d; rece for licker and lard—11s 3d:	11s 7d
10	Rece off Francis Spencer of Cleyhungger, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due August 10, 1640: ¹¹	10s
10	Rece of James Seaburne of Ewe Withington, 6 months usse for 20li, due September 15, 1640:	16s
10	total rece of Bradard & all places ells: 657li 18s 5d	the whole yeare rece: 518li 0 4d rece at Bradard the yeare past: 139li 18s 1d
	131li 3s 1d tru cast	

131li 3s 1d tru cast

1640 April 1	New receights of rents, annuities & usse moneys, beginning at St Mary Day, 1640; written at John Fletchers howse in Widmarsh Streete, in Heryford.	[f. 6v]
this 20s from them both was	Imprimis—rece of William Eysham of Heriford, tanner, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due February 5, 1639: It was rece a litle befor he absented him self for dett. ¹²	10s

¹¹ This entry and the one immediately following have been crossed through together with a single 'x' in the manuscript.

¹² During the Middle Ages, the number of places of refuge for delinquent debtors had expanded. This practice of sanctuary, which had a long history, came under attack in the early modern period. J. R. Herzler, 'The abuse and outlawing of sanctuary for debt in seventeenth-century England', *Historical Journal*, XIV (1971), 467.

alowed me for the rent but I paid it to Mr Bodnam sithence	Rece of Henry Eisham, his brother, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due October 20, 1639:	10s
	Rece of John Byrt, by his wife, that was behinde of the last yeares rent, due September 11, 1639:	3li
	Rece of her also in part of 8li rent, due March 11, 1639:	5li
4	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withington & Francis Caradin, 6 months usse for 20li, due March 15, 1639:	16s
a hide	Rece for a bullocks hide killed in my howse against Ester:	2[6s?]
	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Much Mauncell, 6 months usse for 50li, due April 3, 1640:	40s
15	Rece of Thomas Chip of Basterstree, 6 months usse for 50li, due April 11, 1640:	40s
20	Rece of Mr William Cater of Heriford, 6 months usse for 100li he stands bownd for one Mr Byford, due April 4, 1640:	4li
20	Rece of Mr Caleb Moore, from his master, my cosen Brabazon, 6 months for 150li, due April 18, 1640:	6li
Rece of Wm Wanklin his wyfe in part of 15li stock—5li	Rece of Mrs Blainche Norman for safern:	1s
	Rece from Mrs Dansey of Brinshop, 6 months usse for 40li that her sonne John Dansey oweth me, due April 10, 1640; by her maid I rece hit:	32s
21 ¹³		
25	Rece of Mr Rychard Acton & Daniell Powle, 6 months usse for 20li, due April 7, 1640:	16s
27	Rece of Thomas Vye of Brierley, 6 months usse for 30li, due April 28, 1640:	24s
May	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, 6 months usse for 200li upon a statute, due May 1, 1640:	8li
1	Rece of Maude Pritchett, half a yeares rent for their howse roomes, due May 3, 1630:	30s
2	Rece of Sir Robert Whitney, knight, 6 months usse for 100li, due March the second, 1639:	4li
3	Rece also >of him< 6 months usse for 50li, due April 8, 1640:	40s
8	Rece of Alixander M Mr Charles Baskerville, 6 months usse for 20li, due May 6, 1640:	16s
30	Rece of Mrs Rachell Tomas, widdow, for a faier gray mare that she bought of me, a purer[?] ambler:	11li
my gray mare sould	Rece of Thomas Badnidge, glover, of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due May 8, 1640:	8s
30	Rece of Richard Higgins of Warton, half a years usse for 800li stock upon the morgage of Warton farme, due April 28, 1640:	32li
Warton		
June		

¹³This date refers to the margin entry re William Wanklin.

7	Rece of Mr Richard Awbrey of Wales, 6 months usse for 20li, due May the 11, 1640:	16s
9	Rece at tymes for the milk of my winter cow:	8s
15	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimstree, 6 months for 60li, due June 9, 1640:	48s

92li 1s tru cast

1640	Heriford receights	[f.] 7
June		
16	Rece of Lewes Hunt, 6 moneths usse usse for 3li, due June 4, 1640:	2s 10d
19	Rece of Mr John Weaver, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill 24, 1640:	40s
	Rece of Mr Phillip Trahearn, one yeares usse for 20li, due June 22, 1640:	32s
22	Rece of Mrs Kingman, 6 months usse for 10li, due bye William Bullock, dier, June 5, 1640:	8s
the last	Rece from Mr Thomas Hackluit, half a yeares usse or rent upon morgage of Kintley for 400li, due the 9th of May last, 1640:	16li
23	Rece of Mr Alixander Munne and Mr Thomas Munne, both of Dillwin, [deletion] 4[?] monthes usse for 60li, due July the second, and for ods of usse till the new bond was made, which makes just 28s:	28s
rece in 30li of my 60li stock	Rece of Mr Peter Dawncer of Morton, 6 months usse for 50li, due July 17, 1640, by M Rufford:	40s
July	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due June 22, 1640:	8s
18	Rece of Mr Isack Weaver, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due May the third, 1640:	40s
18	& he [paid] 6 months usse for 20li, due June 24, 1640:	16s
21	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston of Heryford, 6 months usse for 50li, due by him & Mr Christofer Higgins of Heryford, July 8, 1640:	40s
22	Rece of >Mr< Giles Lawrance of Worcester, 6 months usse for 15li, a remnant of Mr John Minors dett, and due June 26, 1640:	12s
24	Rece for a haifers hide killed in my howse:	18s
26	Rece of John Leeche of Upper Lide, the first 6 months usse for 60li, due July 24:	48s
26	Rece of the Widdow Smith of Ewe Withington, half a yeares rent for the further Cobnalls meadow, due at Lammas 1640, but paid in a weecke afore hand:	3li
Cobnalls rent		

	Rece of Mr Fitswilliam Conyngesby, esquier, my half yeares anuety, due to me out of the lordship of Nene Solers by the bequest of my loving brother Humfrey Conyngesby, esquier, owner of the above said Nene Solers; due at Annunciation, 1640:	33li 6s 8d
August	Rece the same tyme of Mr Conyngesby, my half yeares anuety given me by worthy Sir Thomas Conyngesby in his last will, due at Anunciation, 1640:	5li
8	Rece for 1 ounce of English saffern of Mr Phillpotts:	10s
9	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinall of Herifford, 6 months usse for 50li, due June 29, 1640:	40s
the first	Rece of Mr Miles Hill of Leominster, one yeares usse for 20li, due May 26, 1640:	32s
9		
19	Rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, 6 months usse for 100li, due August 19, 1640:	4li

82li 1s 6d tru cast

1640	Heryford receyghts	[f. 7v]
September		
3	Receved of Phillip Wallis of Widemarsh More, one yeares usse for 32li 10s upon a morgage of 5 akers of tillage in Holmers feeld, due September 3, 1640:	52s
rece in	Rece of Richard William ¹⁴ Norman, mercer, one yeares usse for 10li, due June 7, 1640:	16s
the 10li also		
12	Rece of John Giles of Much Marckle, one yeares usse for 4li, due August 24, 1640:	6s 4d
24	Rece of Mr Edward Laccon, 6 months usse for 30li, due August 14, 1640:	24s
October		
6	Rece of my cosin John Walshe for stable muck: Rece by >my< cosin John Walsh for me of Nichollas Phellps, his first half yeares rent for 2 pastures at Bruckend—the one called Jackons Slade, the other Briery Furlong—due for 200li my cosin Edmund Ansley oweth me, due September the second first, ¹⁵ 1640:	8li
7		
10	Rece of Joyse Spencer of Cleyhungger, from her father Francis Spencer of the same, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due August 10, 1640:	10s
	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withington, 6 monthes usse for 20li, due September 15, 1640:	16s
10	Rece from Mrs Dansey of Brinsop, by her maid, 6 months usse for 40li, due October, 1640:	32s

¹⁴ 'William' has been written above 'Richard' in the manuscript.¹⁵ Here 'first' has been written above 'second' in the manuscript.

11	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 3, 1640:	40s
12	Rece of Francis Saunders, in full painment of 6li for a pasture of my cosin Walshes by the White Crosse:	20s
5li was paid before		
19	Rece of Thomas Moris the butcher for a fatt ship:	8s
21	Rece of Mr John Hide of Brierley, in part of a further dett he undertoke for Thomas Nicholls of Warton:	5li
John Hide	Rece of Walter Walton of Newton, 6 months usse for 5li, due July 25, 1640:	4s
	Rece of Mr William Cater of Heriford, 6 months usse for 100li, due October 4, 1640:	4li
22	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew of Heryford, 6 months usse for 10li stock, due June 4, 1640:	8s
Dew	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington & Daniell Powle of Leinterdine, 6 months usse for 20li, due October 7, 16[40?]:	16s
23	Rece of John Prichet & Maude his wyfe, 6 months rent for their howse, due at Alholantide, 1640:	30s
by M	Rece of William Eysham, tanner, 6 months usse for	
Rufford rece	15li, part of 40li he oweth me, due August 6, 1640:	12s
25	Wheras Henry Eysham should have paid me 20s for 12li 10s, due October 20, 1640, I did pay hit to Mr Bodnam for William Eyshams rent, and when I rece that back I will acknowledge that 20s:	20s
25	Rece of my cosin Brabazon of Eaton, 6 months usse for 150li, due October 18, 1640, by Mr Caleb Moore:	6li
25	Rece of Thomas Chippe of Baterstree, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 11, 1640:	40s

41li 8s 4d tru cast

November 1640	Heriford receights	Begininge—[?] ¹⁶	[f.] 8
7			
sould to	Rece for a heyfers hide killed in my howse:		14s 6d
Philip Bowin	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, 6 months usse for 50li, due August 12, 1640:		40s
40s behinde	Rece of Mrs Phillip Byrt of Sutton, in part of 8li usse >due< by her husband John Byrt for 200li stock upon morgage of land, due September 11, 1640:		6li
Mrs Birt			

¹⁶ This has been written in a different hand, possibly that of William, her nephew.

26s behind Phill Baker	Rece of Mr Phillip Baker of Mardin, in part of 6 months usse for 300li upon morgage of land, due August 28, 1639; ¹⁷ rece at twice:	11li
7 Warton	Rece of Richard Higgins, the half years usse of 800li upon morgage of Warton farme, due November 1, 1640 October 28, 1640: ¹⁸	32li
7 Mrs Isabell Burghill widdow	Rece of Mr Peter Nash, 6 months use for 200li upon a statute, due November the first, 1640: Rece of Mrs Burghill of the Bovine, which I lent her 5 years agonn gratis: ¹⁹	8li 5li
14	Rece of Sir Robert Whittney, knight, 6 months usse for 150li, due September the second & October 8, 1640:	6li
16	Rece of Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 8, 1640:	8s
21	Rece by Mr Miles Hackluitt from his father Mr Thomas Hackluit of Kintley, 6 months usse for 400li upon morgage of land, due November 9, 1640:	16li
24	Rece of Mr Lane, alderman of Heryford, 6 months usse for 100li, due September 13, 1640:	4li
Desember 3	Rece for milk sould of a fatt cow that I had: Rece of Mr Edward Wallwin, sent by his wife Elinor, one yeares usse for 10li—his first dett—due September 12, 1640:	20d 16s
4	Rece of Mr Miles Hill of Leominster, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 26, 1640:	16s
9	Rece of John Lewes, glover, of Heriford, & Mr Richard Awbrey, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 11, 1640:	16s
10	Rece of Alis Bullock, 6 months usse for 10li, Desember 5, 1640:	8s
20	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimstrey, 6 monthes usse for 60li stocke, due Desember 9, 1640:	48s
28	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmore, his brother, 6 moneths usse for 50li stocke, due October 24, 1640:	40s
January 2	Rece from Mr Fitzwilliam Conyngesby, by the hands of William Davies, his man, for my half yeares anuety due out of the lordship of Nene Sollers by the gift of my loving brother Humfrey Coningesby dessessed, the som of thirty & three pownds, due at Miklmas, 1640:	33li 6s 8d
2 anuety	Rece the same tyme, my half yeares anuety by the bequest of noble Sir Thomas Coningesby, due at Micklmas, 1640; rece it by William Davies:	5li

¹⁷ Here '1640' had been written initially, and an attempt made to change it to 1639. Since the result was unclear, Joyce inserted '1639' after this, above the line.

¹⁸ The date 'October 28, 1640' has been written above '~~November 1, 1640~~' in the manuscript.

¹⁹ The word 'gratis' has been added above the line drawn to finish the entry,

6	Rece of John Smith, mercer, by the apointment of Thomas Norman of Hollmer, one yeare and a halfs usse for 20li, due Desember 7, 1640—Richard Normans dett:	48s
7	Rece of Mr James Barrall of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due Desember 30, 1640:	40s
12	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinall of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li stock due Desember 29, 1629:	40s

143li 2s 10d tru cast

1640	Heryford receights	[f. 8v]
January		
13	Rece of Mr Peter Nash for one months usse for 200li upon an estatute, due upon the altering of the ould statute the first day of Desember, 1640; then the new statute was made:	26s 8d
Mr Peter Nash renued his statute for [blank]	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, maior of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li that was Mr Sellwins dett—he [is] surety for it & Christofer Higgins, deceased—due January 8, 1640:	40s
14	Rece of Mr Harbert Awbrey one yeares usse for	
16	50li, due August the first, 1640; rece by Litle Dottin:	4li
the rest I forgave him. rece in my 5li & made even	Rece of Henry Caswall of the Fallcon in Hope, 2 yeares & a halfs use for 5li, due September 15, 1640:	20s
	Rece of Mr Roger Cresswell of the Nash in the parish of Pencombe 2 yeares usse for 20li due January 15, 1640:	3li 4[s?]
rece the 20li & made even ²⁰ [deletion] 20 ²¹	Rece of Mr Peter Dauncer of Moorton, 6 months usse for 50li, due January 17, 1640:	40s
25	Rece of Mr >Thomas< Baker of Dillwin, 9 months usse for 30li, being the dett of Thomas Vye of Brierley, due January 25, 1640:	36s
rece in my 30li & made even ²²	Rece from John Leeche of Lide, by his sonne Richard Leeche, 6 months usse for 60li, due January 24, 1640:	48s
30 ²³	Rece of Joane Rod alias Norman, in part of 40li I lent her:	10s

²⁰This refers to the entry re Roger Cresswell.

²¹This refers to the entry re Peter Dauncer.

²²This refers to the entry re Thomas Baker.

²³This refers to the entry re John Leeche.

this was paid a yeare a gonne ²⁴	Rece of the Widdow >Elizabeth< Smith of Ewe Withington, in full payment for the later math of the hither pasture at the Cobnalls—50s—and for the wholle yeares rent of the further pasture, due at Candlmas, 1640:	5li 1[0s?]
February 3 Cobnalls rent 5	Rece of Mr Crisstofer Dew, vintner, in Heryford, 6 months usse for 10li due Desember 4, 1640:	8s
	Rece of Roger Simonse for a bullocks hide against Crestmas:	[?]
	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 22, 1640, by M Rufford:	8s
Vickers	Rece from Mr Thomas Vickers of Tarington, by his daughter; 6 months usse for 50li in June, 1640, 6 months usse for 50li, due February 5, 1639; on the faier day rece it:	40s
6 Vickers 6 day	Also rece from the same Vickers by Mathias Rufford, 6 mmonthes usse more, due August 5, 1640:	40s
40s yet due	Rece of Mr Phillip Baker of Mardin, that was left unpaid the last rent day in August, 1640:	20s
March 4	Rece also in part of 12li usse for 300li for 6 months, due February 28, 1640:	40s
10li yet due	Rece from Mr Edward Wallwin, by his wife Ellinor Wallwin, 6 months usse for 10li that I lent him, due March 12, 1640:	8s
	Rece of Francis Spencer of Cley-hungger, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due February the 10th, 1640:	10s
13	Rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, 6 months usse for 100li stock, due February 19, 1640:	4li
London usse 20s I gave John Edmunds of it	Rece by Mr Edmunds of London, scrivener, of Mr G Gibbons of London, one yeares usse for 20li, due November 12, 1640:	32s
	Rece of Mr Edward Laccon of Newton, 6 monthes usse for 30li stock, due February 14, 1640:	24s
15	Rece from William Eysham, which he sent with a letter to Mr Mathias Rufford to deliver me, and was due February 6, 1640 for 12li 10s 15li stock: ²⁵	12s
at Heriford Assises rece it	Rece of Mr Giles Lawrance of Worcester, 6 months usse for [deletion] 15li—Mr John Minors dett—due Desember 26, 16[40?]:	12s
17	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford, 6	
30	months usse for 100li, due March 13, 1641:	4li
31	Rece of Mr Phillip Trahearn, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 22, 1640;	16s

46li 5s 8d tru cast

²⁴This refers to the entry re Joane Rod alias Norman.

²⁵The words '15li stock' have been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

1640	Heryford receights	[f.] 9
March 30	Receved at Bradward the whole yeare past, for all rents and corne and other comodities ells, in the yeare 1640:	37li 15s 10d
	Som totalle receved at Bradward and from every place ells, for all dues what soever, the whole yeare abowte, ending on St Mary Eve, 1640:	442li 15s 2d
1641	New receights of rents, anueties & usse moneys,	
April 1	begining at St Mary Day, 1641, for the whole yeare; written at John Fletchers howse in Widmarsh Streete.	
7	Imprimis—rece of Mr Arnold Burghill for a rick of hay growing at the Cobnalls at harvest, 1640:	5li
hay sould 7	Rece of Mr Henry Mellin for a load of Ailstree hay: Rece of my cosin John Walsh the half yeares rent of my cosin Edmund Ansleys 2 pastures, due March the first, 1640, in Oxford shere at Bruckend:	32s 8li
8 14	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Much Mansell, 6 monethes usse for 50li, due Aprill the third, 1641:	40s
14	Rece of my cosin Wallop Brabazon of Eaton, 6 monthes usse for 150li, due Aprill 18, 1641:	6li
May	Rece from Mrs Dansey of Brinsop, 6 months usse for 40li lent to her sonne, John Dansey, due Aprill 10, 1640[?]:	32s
1	Rece of John Giles, 6 months use for 4li, due February 24, 1640:	3s 2d
hay sould	Rece of Mr Arnold Burghill of Withington, for a rick of ould hay at the Cobnalls:	5li
hay	Sould to John Birt of Sutton, one rick of the same hay: ²⁶ Rece of Mr John Hearing of Hollmer, for a loade of hay out of my stable in Heriford:	5li 6s 8d 26s 8d
	Sould a rick of hay out of Cobnalls to John Birt for: Rece of Mr Alixander Munne & Mr Thomas Munne of Dillwin, 6 monthes usse for 30li, due January 2, 1640:	5li 6s 8d 24s
2	Rece of Walter Wallton of Munkland Newton, 6 months usse for 5li, due February 25, 1640:	4s
	Rece of Mr Isack Weaver, 6 months usse for 50li, due November 3, 1640, by M Rufford:	40s

²⁶ This entry and the one preceding it have two vertical lines drawn through them and the amounts have been struck out. The entry re John Birt reappears two lines later.

	Rece more of him, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 24, 1640:	16s
	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington, 6 months usse for 20li, due Aprill 30, 1641:	16s
3	Rece of Mr Charles Baskerville of Staunton upon Wye, one yeares usse for 20li, due May 3, 1641:	32s
13	Rece of Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li, due May 8, 1641:	8s
17	Rece of Maud Prichet 6 months rent for her howse rent, due at St Holirood Day, 1641:	30s
21	Rece from Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill 24, 1641;	
	this rece by Robert Weaver of Wye Bridge, shumaker:	40s
	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, 6 months usse for 50li, due February 12, 1641:	40s
hay sould 22	Rece of Mr Henry Mellin for a load of cource hay:	20s
44li 10s 6d tru cast		

1641	Heryford receights	[f. 9v]
May		
22	Rece of Mr William Cater of Heryford, 7 months and 3 weecks usse for 100li lent to Mr Byford of Slimbrook [Slimbridge?] —Mr Cater was suerty— due May 22, 1641:	5li 3s
June	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, 6 months usse for 200li upon a statute, due June the first, 1641:	8li
4	Rece of James Dudson so much usse as was due from January 5, 1638 untill June 5, 1641:	57s
5	He saieth he paid me 20s the last winter, 1640, in presence of Joshua Bowker, which yf he did then all ys paid:	20s
8	Rece of Lewes Hunt, 6 months usse for 3li, due Desember 4, 1640:	2s 10d
9	Rece of Roger Goulding, the first quarters rent for my howse called Gowlding Halle in Widmarsh Streete in Herifford, due May the third, 1641:	3s
Golding the first rent		
14	Rece of Alis Bullock 6 months usse for 10li, due June 5, 1641:	8s
21	Rece of Mr Thomas Chip, 6 months usse for 50li, [due] Aprill 11, 1641:	40s

22 Julie	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimestree, 6 months usse for 60li, due June 9, 1641; rece by Robert Wever of Heriford: ²⁷	48s
1 received in my 5li stock & made even	Rece by the hands of Mr Walter Rogers, minester of Mordiford, 3 yeares usse—wanting 1 moneth—for 5li, due June 26, being the dett of Mr Thomas Curteous, alderman of Heriford; the rest abated: Rece from Mr Richard Awbrey, by the hands of John Lewes, glover, 6 months usse for 20li,	20s
5	due May 11th, 1641: ²⁸	16s
5	Rece of Mr James Barrill, alderman of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li, due June 30, 1641:	40s
6	Rece from ould Thomas Norman of Howlmere, by the hands of John Smith, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 7, 1641:	16s
rece it by Mrs E Russell	Rece from Mr Thomas Hackluit of Kintley, 6 months usse for 400li upon morgage of Kintley, due > May < June 9, 1641:	16li
10	Rece of Mr Richard Stockwall of London, tailer, one	
13 Mr Stockwall	yeare & halfs usse for 50li stock, due 27 of May, 1641: Rece for 20 muttons skinnes killed in my howse in Heryford from October 17, 1640 unto June 28, 1641: Rece for one kid skin:	6li 25s 4d 4d
anuety 17	Rece from Mr Conyngesby, by Richard Beck, the som of [33li 6s 8d] for my half yeares anuety, due to me at St Mary Day last past out of the lordship of Nene Solers: Rece the same tyme, my half yeares anuety by the gift of Sir Thomas Conyngesby deceased, due at Anunciation, 1641:	33li 6s 8d 5li
22	Rece of Mr Peter Dawncer of Moorton, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due July 17, 1641:	40s
24	Rece from John Leeche of Lide, by his sonne, 6 months usse for 60li, due July 24, 1641:	48s
24 Mr T E	Rece of Mr Thomas Eaton of Pencombe, half a yeares usse for 20li, due March 15, 1640, & one >yeare < before, I toke nothing:	16s
28 Cobnalls rece	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinoll of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li, due June 29, 1641:	40s

²⁷The words 'rece by Robert Wever of Heriford' have been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.

²⁸In the manuscript this entry follows immediately after 'abated' on the line above, being separated only by a vertical line.

August	Rece of the ould Widdow Smith of Ewe Withington, 6 months rent for the furthest Cobnalls next their howse, due at Lam[mas?]:	3li
4	Rece of John Byrt of Stutton, for a rick of hay growing at the Cobnalls, at harvest 1640, paid not till now: ²⁹	5li
Cobnalls		
hay		
4	Rece of Edward Trahern, gill girdler, in Heriford, the first 6 months usse for 10li, due July 27, 1641:	8s
	Rece for the milk of a winter cow, and my howse served besides:	23s

100li 1s 4d tru cast³⁰

1641	Heriford receights	[f.] 10
August		
9	Rece of Mr Harbert Awbrey 1 yeares usse for 50li stock, due August the first, 1641:	4li
17	Rece of Sir Robert Whittney, knight, 6 months usse for 100li stock, due March the second, 1640:	4li
rece by Rich	Rece of him 6 monthes usse for 50li, due Aprill 8, 1641:	40s
Freeman		
September	Rece of Mr Richard Nichollets, aturney, 6 months usse for 20li, which he stands bownd for Mr Edward Sallway of Stanford, deceased, due November 18th, 1640:	16s
1		
1	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, maior of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li—Mr Smiths dett—due July 8, 1641:	40s
4	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld 6 months usse for 10li, due June 22, 1641:	8s
5	Rece of Mr Roger Heryford of Sufton, 6 months usse for 100li, due August 19, 1641:	4li
8	Rece from Francis Spencer of Cleyhunger, bye his daughter, 6 monthes usse for 12li 10s, due August 10, 1641:	10s
Phillip Wallis		
rent paid	Phillip Wallis yeares rent, for 5 akers of tillage in Challow feeld in Holmer, was paid me in this maner—20s in redy money & a black coult of 20s and a hoggshead of sider at 12s—in all:	52s
in this maner		
due at		
Miklmas 1641		
2d behinde	Rece of John Giles of Much Marcle, 6 months usse for 4li, due August 24, 1641:	3s 2d
all paid		
September	Rece from Mr Edward Lacon, 6 months usse for 30li, due August 14, 1641:	24s
25		
the first	Rece of John Hide of Brierley, 6 monthes use for 5li, due August 20, 1641, by M Rufford:	4s

²⁹ This entry appears to have been deleted with a single vertical line.

³⁰ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £100 1s 2d.

25	Rece of Walter Walton of Newton, 6 months	
September	usse for 5li, due July 25, 1641:	4s
October	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew of Heryford; 6 months	
4	usse for 10li, due June 4, 1641:	8s
4	Rece from William Eysham, tanner, by Richard Teagge	
Will Eisham	of Heriford, corviser, 6 months usse for 25li lent to his	
4	brother Henry Eysham & him self, wherof I doo	
due August	now rece as due from William Eysham his part:	12s
[16]41	Rece of James Vaughan of Hollmer, in part of the price	
11	of 2 sider hoggsheads sould to him for 11s; rece in part:	7s
	Rece from Mrs Dansey, the elder, of Brinsob, 6 months	
	usse for 40li, due October 10, 1641, by Bartlmew Hering:	32s
16	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withinton, one yeares	
	usse fore 20li, due September 15, 1641:	32s
	Rece of Alice Bullock, 6 months usse for 10li, due	
	by her husband William Bullock; 6 months usse:	8s
19	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford, 6 months	
	usse for 100li, due September 13, 1641:	4li
19	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, 6 months	
cam from	usse for 50li, due October 3, 1641:	40s
Nene Solers	Rece for the ould cowes hide which I killed in my howse:	9s
20	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington, 6 months	
26	usse for 20li, due October 7, 1641:	16s
London	Rece by accownts from Mr John Edmunds,	
receights	scrivener, in the Stranne, London, as due by Mr Page	
rece in my	of London for 1 year and 8 months & 10 daies	
20li & lent	usse for 20li, due June 29, 1641:	54s
it to Mr Rich	Rece of Mrs Phillip Birt, from her husband John	
Stockwall	Birt of Sutton, in part of 18li rent of money:	5li
John Birt	Rece for a dozen of hoggshead whoops:	20d
30		
	38li 0s 10d tru cast ³¹	

1641	Heryford receights	[f.10v]
November		
4	Rece of Mr Phillip Trahearn, alderman of Heriford,	
	6 months usse for 20li, due June 22, 1641:	16s
6	Rece of Maude Prichett, half a yeares rent for her howse	
	roomes in Widmarsh Streete, due at Micklmas, 1641:	30s
6	Rece from my cosin Mr Wallop Brabazon of	
	Eaton, 6 months usse for 150li, due October, 1641:	6li

³¹ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £42 0s 10d.

8	Rece of Richard Gillbert, by the appointment of Mr	
received	Isack Weaver, one yeares usse for 50li, due	
my 50li too	November 3, 1641; rece in my stock also:	4li
9	Rece of Mr John Rowdon, sonne in law to Mr John	
	Duppa, 2 yeares usse for 10li, due November 7, 1641:	32s
	Rece of Mr Alixander Munne of Dillwin, & Mr Thomas	
	Munne of the same, 6 months usse for 30li, [due]	
	July second, 1641:	24s
10	Rece of Mr Giles Lawrance of Worcester, 6 months	
	usse for 15li, due June 26, 1641:	12s
13	Rece of Mrs Elynor Wallwin, from her husband, 6	
Mr Edward	monthes usse for 10li, due September 12, 1641:	8s
Wallwin	And I did rece of her at Heriford faier 6 months	
13	usse more, which was due March 12, 1640; forgott: ³²	8s
2s behind	Rece of Thomas Vickers of Tarington, by his wyfe	
of this rent	Joane Vickeres, in part of one yeares usse of 50li,	
	due August 5, 1641:	3li 18s
Desember	Rece of Mr Peter Nash, 6 months usse for	
1	200li stock, due Desember the first, 1641:	8li
6	Rece of John Wootton of Mardin, 6 months usse for	
rece in my	20li, due Desember the 6, 1641—James Dudsons money:	16s
20li stock	Rece for a fatt cow hide killed in my howse at Heriford:	14s
7	Rece of Thomas Norman of Hollmer, 6 months usse for	
	20li stock, due Desember 7, 1641; rece by John Smith:	16s
	Rece of John >Thomas< Seaburne of Ewe Withington,	
	for the after-math of the hither Cobnalls, due in	
	Desember, 1641:	46s 8d
first tyme	Rece of Thomas Bond of Hampton Bushop, 6 months	
17	usse for 50li stock, due Desember 10, 1641:	40s
21	Rece for milk of the cow that went to Bradard:	17d
Warton	Rece of Richard Higgins, half a yeares rent or usse for	
rent	800li stock uppon morgage of Warton farme, due	
	October 28, 16[41?]:	32li
oxe hide	Rece of ould Mr Phillip Simons, for a fatt oxo hide	
21	I killed in my house at Heryford, against Cristmas, 1641:	18s
January	Rece from Sir Robert Whittney of Whittney, by the hands	
Sir Robert	of Richard Freeman, 6 months usse for 100li, due	
Whittney	September the second—4li; & rece for 50li usse, due	
	October 8, 1641—40s; both: ³³	6li

³²Two fairs have been recorded for Hereford: a fair was granted to the Bishop of Hereford at the Feast of St Ethelbert [20 May]; and a further fair by letter close took place at the Feast of St Denys [9 October]. Samantha Letters, *Online Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England Wales to 1516* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> >:[Hereford] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006). During the Bishop's fair, governance of the city transferred from the bailiff to the bishop, and justice appears to have been administered by the Pie Powder courts. Rev. Compton Reade, ed., *Memorials of Old Herefordshire* (London, 1904), 107.

³³The word 'both' has been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.


	Rece from Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due October 24, 1641:	40s
11	Rece from Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimestree, 6 months usse for 60li, due Desember 9, 1641; both rece by Robert Weaver of Wye-bridge, shumaker:	48s
13	Rece from Mr Richard Awbrey, by the hands of John Lewes, glover, 6 months usse for 20li, due November 11, 1641:	16s
15 anuety	Rece of the right worshipfull Fitzwilliam Conyngesbye, esquier, for my half yeares anuety, due to me out of the lordship of Nene Sollers, at Micklmas last, 1641:	33li 6s [8d]
15	Rece of him the same tyme, my half years anuety by the gift of worthy Sir Thomas Comingesby, deseased, due at Micklmas, 1641:	5li
18	Rece of Mr James Barroll of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li, due Desember 30, 1641:	40s
22	Rece of John Leech of Lide, 6 months usse for 60li, due January 24, 1641; by his sonne rece it:	48s

121li 18s 9d tru cast


1641	Heryford receights	[f.] 11
February		
1	Rece of Mr Peter Dawncer of Moorton upon Lugge, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due January 17, 1641:	40s
2 Cobnalls	Rece of the Widdow Smith of Ewe Withinton, the last half yeares rent for the upper part of the Cobnalls medow, due at Kandlmas, 1641, in full:	3li
3	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinall of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li, due Desember 29, 1641:	40s
then the mortgage began for 100li for 3 yeares	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withington, for usse of 20li, from the 15 of September last too [to] the third day of February, 1641:	12s
4	Rece of Edward Trahern, girdler, in Heriford 6 months usse for 10li, due January 27, 1641:	8s
6	Rece of Mr Phillip Trahearn, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 22, 1641:	16s
16	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 22, 1641:	8s
16	Rece of Thomas Badnidge, glover of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 8, 1641:	8s
17	Rece from Francis Spencer of Cleyhungger, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due February 10th, 1641; by his daughter Anne Spencer rece it:	10s

Dew	Rece from Mr Christofer Dew of Heriford, by	
17	Mathias Rufford, 6 months usse for 10li, due	
	Desember 4, 1641:	8s
a hide	Rece of ould Mr Simons for a bullocks hide killed	
18	in my howse at Shroftide, 1641:	11s
24	Rece of Mr Thomas Eaton, 6 months usse for	
	20li, due September 15, 1641:	16s
March	Rece of Roger Goulding, 3 quarters rent for his	
9	howse roomes in Widmarsh Streete, due at Kandlmas,	
	1641:	9s
	Rece for 4 muttons skinnes killd in my howse in Heryford	2s 5d
	in August & September, 1641, at 4d, 7d, 8d, 10d a peece:	2s 5d
Bullock	Rece of Alis Bullock, 6 months usse for 10li, [due]	
	Desember 5, 1641:	8s
10	Rece of Mr Roger Heryford, 6 months usse for	
	100li, due February 19, 1641:	4li
15	Rece of my cosin John Barneby of Brokinton,	
	2 yeares usse for 60li, due by his father, my cosin	
	Thomas Barneby, the 13 of February, 1641:	9li 12s
London	Rece of Mr Page of St Mar[t]ins parish in the feelds,	3hi 54s
rece by	>not< 2 yeares usse for 20li, due October 18, 1641:	it was rece
Mr John	Rece in my 20li stock & made even:	befor the 2
Edmunds	This should a bin putt downe a yeare agonne.	yeares end
	Rece of Mr Richard Stockall of London, tailer, 6	
	months usse for 50li, due November 27, 1641:	40s
so now Mr	Rece of him for the usse of Mr Pages that	
Stockwall	50li from the tyme it was rece in and	
oweth me	due untill his new bond was made for	
70li stock	that 50li; and for the 20li which he borrowed of	
	Mr Pages money:	10s
24	Rece of my cosin John Walsh, 6 months rent are [or] usse	
	for 200li uppon morgage of my cosin Edmund Ansleys	
	2 pastures at Bruckend, due September the first, 1641:	8li
30	Rece of Walter Wallton of Newton, 6 months usse	
	for 5li, due January 25, 1641:	4s
31	Rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford, 6	
	months usse for 100li, due March 13, 1641:	4li

43li 16s 5d tru cast

1642	Heryford receights	[f. 11 v]
Aprill		
March	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston 6 months usse for	
31	50li, due January 8, 1641:	40s
179li 14s 2d	Rece at Bradward the whole yeare past for	
this side	all rents and corne and other comodities	
tru	what so ever, the yeare e[n]dinge on St Mary Eve, 1641:	172li 14s 2d
	Somme totall receved at Bradward &	
	from every place ellce, for all dues	
	and comodities what so ever for the	
	wholle yeare past, ending on St Mary Eve, 1641:	528li 2s 0
	Thanks be to the Lord for hit.	
1642		
Aprill	New receights of rents, anueties & usse moneys,	
1	begininge at St Mary Day, 1642, for the whole	
	yeare to come; written at the howse where I	
	now live, being John Fletchers, in his life tyme,	
	in Widmarsh Streete, in the subberb of the citty of	
	Heriford.	
18	Imprimis—rece of Mr Edward Laccon of Newton,	
	6 months usse for 30li stock, due February 14, 1641:	24s
	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington, 6 months	
	usse for 20li stock, due Aprill 7, 1642:	16s
	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, 6 months usse	
	for 50li stock, due February 12, 1641:	40s
memrandon	That William Eisham, tanner, allowed me	
19	towards a greate deale of usse, which he oweth me for	
	40li dett that he and his brother Henry Eysham oweth me:	20s
rece in my	Rece of Mr Guy Knowles, vicker of the quier, ³⁴ one yeares	
10li and	usse for 10li, due Aprill 30, 1642:	16s
made even		

³⁴The vicars choral existed in Hereford from at least 1237, when there were six vicars in the cathedral church, two in full orders, two deacons and two sub deacons. By 1395 they were twenty-seven in number—a custos and twenty-six vicars—with revenues, laws and a habitation, but they were unable to hold property. Richard II therefore granted them the form and title of *Collegium vicariorum in choro ecclesie Herefordensis* in 1395; they were to have a common seal and as a corporation were able to acquire and hold property. In the following century, however, problems of inclement weather and 'evil doers' reportedly made it difficult for them to go to church at midnight to celebrate divine service, and in the 1470s they moved from their residence at 29 Castle Street to a new one situated to the east of the Bishop's Palace, in the cathedral precincts. During 1534 there were still twenty seven members of the college and under Elizabeth in 1583 a royal charter confirmed the vicars in their lands, possessions and rights as a corporation. But in 1637, under royal authority, a revised body of statutes was issued that fixed the number of vicars at twelve—with the possibility of a thirteenth—and four sub-canon.

May second	Rece of my cosin John Walsh, 6 months rent for my cosin Ansleys 2 pastures at Bruckend, due March the first 1641, being usse for 200li stocke:	8li
Tho Edmunds 5li rece	Rece of Mr Phillip Winston, mercer, the one half of a dett of 10li that Thomas Edmunds, attorney, owed me:	5li
hay	Rece of Mrs >Frances< Richardson, widdow, for one loade of hay:	23s 4d
3	Rece of Mr Giles Lawrence of Worcester, 6 months usse for 15li stock, due Desember 26, 1641:	12s
4	Rece of ould Mr Phillip Simons for a bullocks hide:	12s
5 rece in my 4li & made even	Rece of John Giles of Much Marckle, 6 months usse for 4li stock, due February 24, 1641:	3s 2d
6	Rece of Thomas Chip of Barterstreete, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill the 11, 1642:	40s
	Rece of Mr Charles Baskerville of Staunton uppon Wye, one yeares usse for 20li stocke, due May 3, 1642:	32s
7	Rece of my cosin Mr Wallop Brabazon of Eaton, 6 months usse for 150li, due May Aprill 18, 1642:	6li
	Rece of Mr Francis Tranter of Bunshill, 6 munths usse for 50li stock, due Aprill 3, 1642:	40s
I had 8 sheep for hit palyjng 4s more ³⁵	Rece of Mr Thomas Pember of Linolls, 2 yeare usse for 20li, due January 20, 1641:	3li 4s
	Rece of Gittos the new tenant at Warton, by the apointment of Richard Higgins the ould tenant, half a yeares usse for 800li, due Aprill 28, 1642:	32li

68li 2s 6d tru cast

1642	Heryford dissbursements	[f.] 12
May		
16	Paid for 5 days weeding in the gardin:	20d
18	Rece of Maude Pritchard half a yeares rent for her howse roomes, due May 3, 1642:	30s
18	Rece from Mr Isack Weaver, by the hands of yonge Kinersley, 1 yeares usse for 20li, due Desember 24, 1641:	32s
Assension Eve 18 ³⁶	Rece for one of the Kingsland cheeces to pleasure one [on?]:	5s

This remained the status quo until the nineteenth century when the number of vicars was again reduced, first to six and then to four, to be replaced with lay clerks who were paid to sing in the services and anthems. A.T. Bannister, *The Cathedral Church of Hereford: Its History and Constitution*, Studies in Church History (London, 1924), 164–6; M.D. Lobel, *Historic Towns: Hereford* (n.d.)

³⁵ This refers to the entry re Thomas Pember.

³⁶ This date refers back to the entry re Isack Weaver.

	Rece for the milk of a cow, which I wintered at Heriford from Alholandtide till Holirood Day, 1642, and my owne howse served to the full, & given away som:	18s 4d
28	Rece of Mr Edward Wallwin, by his wyfe Elinor, 6 months usse for 10li—his owne dett—due March 12, 1641:	8s
June 2	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, 6 months usse for 200li stock uppon estatute, due June 2, 1642:	8li
rece in the 10li & made even	Rece more of him, 6 months usse for 10li lent him the last year, and paid in the said 10li:	8s
2	Rece of Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li, due May 8, 1642:	8s
gray nagg he cost me 56s 6d	Rece of on Whitson Monday at Bromyard faier, for a little gray nagg bought at Miklmas last: ³⁷	3li 9s
	Rece of Alis Bullock 6 months usse for 10li, due June 5, 1642:	8s
20 at the faier	Rece at Heriford faier for an ould bazen:	6d
rece in my 20li stocke & made even	Rece of Thomas Norman of Hollmer, 6 months usse for 20li stocke, due June 7, 1642:	16s
July 2 ³⁸	Rece of Mrs Dorathy Duppa of Erdisley, in part of 10li which her husband John Duppa oweth me:	6li
2	Rece of John Bond of Hampton Bishop, 6 months usse for 50li stocke, due June 10, 1642:	40s
3	Rece of John Lewes and Richard Awbrey, 6 months usse for 20li, due May 11, 1642:	16s
4	Rece of Mrs Guillam of Bystreete, 3 months usse for 10li, due June 15, 1642:	4s
the first 9	Rece of the right worshi[p]full Fitzwilliams Coningesby, esquier, my half yeares anuety, due at St Mary Day, 1642, out of the lordship of Nene Sollers:	33li 6s 8d
9	Rece of him the same tyme my half yeares anuety by the bequest of Sir Thomas Conyngesby, due the same tyme:	5li
10	Rece of Mr James Barrall, alderman of Heriford, 6 months usse for 50li, due June 30, 1642:	40s
11	Rece of Lewes Hunt, one yeare and a halves usse for 3li, due June the 4th, 1642:	8s 6d
rece in 20s of my 3li stock	Rece of Alixander Munne and Thomas Munne, both of Dillwin, one yeares usse for 30li, due July the second, 1642:	48s
	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill 24, 1642:	40s

³⁷ Bromyard fair was held at the Feast of St Philip and St James [1 May]. Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>:[Bromyard] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006).

³⁸ This date refers to the entry re Dorothy Duppa.

Mr Dawnsner	Rece of Mr Arther Daunser of Moorton, 6 months usse	
20	for 50li, due July 17, 1642; ould Mr Dawncer borrowed hit:	40s
26	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimestree, 6 months	
	usse for 60li, due >June< 9, 1642; by Mr John Weaver	
	rece it:	48s
27	Rece of John Leeche of Lide, 6 months usse for	
	60li, due July 24, 1642:	48s
August	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, alderman of Hereford,	
30	6 months usse for 50li, his part due July 8, 1642:	20s
30	Mrs Jane Higgins, widow, should a paid the other	
	half—20s—but I forgave it her.	

80li 2s 0 tru cast

1642	Heryford receights	[f. 12v]
August		
2	Rece from Mr Thomas Vickers of Tarington, by his	
5	wyfe Joane Vickers, 1 yeares use for 50li, due August 5,	
2s behind	1642:	4li
of the last	Rece of Mr William Wankin of the Yatt Howse in	
yeare.	Leominster, my stock of 10li, & forgave her [his wife] 36s usse:	10li
Wanklin	Rece of Mr Phillip Winston, mercer, in Heriford, at	
I never	2 tymes, in full of the 10li that Mr Thomas Edmunds	
had usse.	owed me:	10li
London	Rece by Mr John Edmunds of London, scrivener, of	
rece	Mr Gibbons the Prince Charles ³⁹ barber, one yeares	
Mr Gibbons.	usse for 20li, due >November< my 20, 1642:	32s
James	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withinton, by his	
Seaburn	wyfe, in part of 4li for the first half yeares	
10	usse of 100li upon a morgage of his howse & land,	
	due the 10th of August, 1642:	40s
Dew	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew of Heriford, 6 months	
	usse for 10li, due June 4, 1642:	8s
23	Rece of Edward Trahern >girdler< 6 months usse for	
	10li, due due [sic] July 27, 1642:	8s
26	Rece of Mr Richard Stockwall 6 months usse for	
London	70li, due May 28, 1642:	56s
Mr John	Rece of Mr Gibbons, one yeares usse for 20li,	
Edmunds	due November the 20th, 1641 past:	32s
rece hit.		

³⁹ Charles Stuart, second son of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria. P. Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 30 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5144>].

September	Rece of Francis Spencer of Cleyhunger, by his daughter	
1	Anne Spencer, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due	
	August 10th, 1642:	10s
2	Rece of Mr Thomas Veynall of Heryford, 6 months usse	
	for 50li, due June 29, 1642; by Mathias Rufford: ⁴⁰	40s
3	Rece of my cosin Mr Richard Browne of Broomyerd,	
	2 yeares usse for 50li, due June 15, 1642:	8li
14	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, alderman of Heriford, by	
	the apointment of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster,	
Mrs Philip	for 6 months usse of 10li, due to me by the said	
Birt	Mr Blashfeeld, June 22, 1642:	8s
forgott	Rece of Mrs Phillip Byrt in part of arereges usse behinde:	5li
till now	Rece it in June, 1642.	
17	Rece from Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, by his yonger	
	sonne, 6 months usse for 50li, due August 12, 1642:	40s
19	Rece of Mr Roger Heryford of Sufton, 6 months usse	
	for 100li stocke, due August 19, 1642:	4li
20	Rece of ould Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford, 6	
	months usse for 100li, due September 12, 1642:	4li
20	Rece for a mutttons skin, one of the 6 that went at the	
	Pallice:	8d
21	Rece of Mr Edward Wallwin, 6 months usse for 10li,	
	due August 13 >September 12< 1642:	8s
law shute	Rece back of Mathias Rufford that he rece of Mr John	
John Dupper	Rowdon in part of law charges against John Dupper:	16s
of Erdisley.	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, 6 months usse	
October	for 50li stock, due October the third, 1642:	40s
29	Rece of John Prichett & Maud his wyfe half a yeares	
rent	rent for their howse rent, due at All Saints, 1642:	30s
	Rece of Richard Badnidge Thomas Badnidge, glover,	
	of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 8,	
	1642:	8s
29	Rece of my she cosin Brabazon of Eaton, in absence	
	of her husband, 6 months usse for 150li stock, due	
	October 18, 1642; he was absent when the Earle of	
	Standford lay at Heriford with an army:	6li
29	Rece of Mr Edward Lacon, 6 months usse for 30li,	
	due August 14, 1642:	24s

61li 0 8d tru cast⁴¹

⁴⁰ The phrase 'by Mathias Rufford' has been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.

⁴¹ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £71 0s 8d.



1642	Heryford receights	[f] 13
October		
	Rece back of Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, that was apointed me to pay for the citty armor:	20s
by Mr Rufford Warton	Rece from Gittos, the tenant of Warton farm, in part of half a yeares usse or rent for 800li stock upon morgage, due out of Mr John Hackluits farme of Warton, the 28th day of October, 1642; in part of 32li, rece:	12li
Desember 22	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withington, and his wyfe, at Garnons, the resedue of half a yeares usse for 100li stock upon morgage of his howse and land, & was due August the tenth, 1642:	40s
January 2	Rece of Alis Bullock & Mrs Kingman at Garnons, 6 months usse for 10li her husband oweth me, \	8s
James Seaburn	due Desember 5, 1642:	4s 6d
7	Rece for the ould cow hide killed in my house:	27s 6d
Alis Bullok	Rece for 3 porkes—18s for 2 & 9s 6d for the third:	8d
7	Rece for a sheep skin killed in the howse at Bradard:	8s
	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li stock, due Desember 22, 1642:	8s
	Rece of Walton of Newton, 6 months usse for 5li, due July 25, 1642:	4s
Warton rent	Rece of Gittos, the tenannt of Warton, in part of 32li, the half yeares rent of that farm, due October 28, 1642; I say rece in part of 32li:	10li
mault sould	Sould and receved of Mrs Jane Higgins of Heriford, widdow and bruer, for 80[?] boshells of barley mault. I sould for feare of the Earle of Stanfords plundering of my >2< howses in Heriford, which he did most inhumanely; I had 3s 8d a boshell, cam to:	14li 13s 4d
November 18 Eliza Acton		
sould hit		
14	Rece of Mr Francis Unet of Castle Froome, 6 monthes usse for 50li, due Desember 14, 1642:	40s
the first	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinoll of Heryford, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due Desember 29, 1642:	40s
	Rece of Thomas Chippe of Larpott, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 11, 1642:	40s
Dew	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew of Heriford, vintner, 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 4, 1642:	8s
the first	Rece of Mr John Bradford of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 13, 1642:	8s
the first 14	Rece of Mr James Scrivenner of Heriford, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 23, 1642:	16s

	Rece of John Tandy, the host of the White Swanne in Heriford, ⁴² for a low roome by hit self of a parcell of hay there at Eyshams stable:	5li 19s 6d
	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, vintner, and his wife for half a brawne I killed in my howse and did spend the other half in the howse:	12s 6d
at Garnons 30 February 3	Rece from Mr John Leeche of Lide, by his sonne, 6 months usse for 60li, due January 24, 1642:	48s
	Rece by Mathias Rufford of John Bond of Hampton Bushop, 6 months usse for 50li, due Desember 10, 1642:	40s

som is 60li 18s tru cast

1642	Heriford receights and ells where	[f. 13v]
February 3	Rece of Mr Arther Dawncer of Moorton upon Lugge, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due January 17, 1642:	40s
	Rece of Gittose of Warton, in full payment of 32li the half yeares rent of Warton farme, due Febru October 28, 1642; 22li on the other side & now:	10li
3 later math	Rece of Mr Henry Mellin, alderman of Heriford, for the after-math of Ailston pasture for the harvest, 1642:	20s
John Byrt 21li 10s behinde 3	Rece by Mathias Rufford of Mrs Phillip Birt of Sutton, in part of 21li 10s usse money for 200li upon morgage and land:	50s
	Rece of Walter a [sic] Wallton of Newton, 6 months usse for 5li stock, due January 25, 1642:	4s
20	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aymstree, 6 months usse for 60li stock, due Desember 9, 1642:	48s
shute in law 20	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, alderman of Herifford, in part of 6li od money for the charge of law shute against him, in the shute of 50li dett; rece in part:	40s
	Rece of Thomas Bedford for a shipskin killed in my howse at Heriford, when the Parliaments sowldiers were billeted there at Alholandtide, 1642:	9d
20 March 18	Rece from my cosin Richard Browne of Bromyeard, in full of 5li which I sent to London by him the last yeare to deliver Mr Stockwell my tailer, but he erved 3li of the 5li for law charges and the other 40s he repaid me now:	40s

⁴² A tavern or inn called the White Swan was recorded in Widemarsh Street in 1623 in the will of Elizabeth Russell. R. Shoesmith, *The Pubs of Hereford City* (Almeley, Hereford, 1998), 137.

	Rece of Mr Witham of Heriford, for a parcell of hay which was put out indifferently to be vewed:	5s
18	Rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Sufton, 6 months usse for 100li, due February 19, 1642:	4li
	Rece of Mr Richard Abington Acton of Ivinton, 6 months usse for 20li, due October 7, 1642:	16s
18	Rece of Edward Trahern of Heriford, girdler, 6 months usse for 10li, due January 27, 1642:	8s
at	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare, 6 months usse for 50li, due February 12, 1642:	40s
Garnons	Rece of Mr Richard Kidley, in part of 3li 6s 8d for a parcell of ould hay sould to him in Heriford:	30s
31 &	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, 6 months usse for 200li stock, due Desember the first, 1642:	8li
last dai	Rece for comodities out of my gardins & other smale things these 21 yeares past; forgott to putt downe	25s 7d
hay sould	Rece at Bradward the whole yeare past for corne, cattell rents and all maner of comodities there whatsoever, the yeare ending onn St Mary Eve, 1642	214li 6s 9d
31		
seedes &		
other things		
som from the		
top 40li 7s		
4d tru		
	Somme totale receved the whole yeare about, as well from Bradward as all places ells, for all maner of commodities what so ever, the yeare ending on St Mary Eve, 1642:	524li 17s 3d
	The Lord be thanked for hitt.	
1643	New receights of rents, anueties, usse money and all receights ells from every place, beginning the first of Aprill 1643; written at Mr Francis Geeres his house, called Garnons.	[f] 14
Aprill		
1		
Mathias	Imprimis—[?] rece of Mr Edward Laccon of Newton, 6 months usse for 30li, due February 14, 1642:	24s
Ruford	Rece of Thomas Munne and Alixander Munne of Dillwin, 6 months usse for 30li, due January the second, 1642:	24s
receights		
1		
8		
Phill Baker	Rece of Mr Phillip Baker of Mardin, in part of a long reconing of usse for 300li, & 2 oxen at 8li more:	8li, in all
14		16li
		
May	Rece of my cosin Wallop Brabazon of Eaton, half a yeares usse for 150li stock, due Aprill 18, 1643:	6li
4		
17	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due Aprill 13, 1643:	40s
		
19	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, alderman of Heriford, 6 months usse for 30li stock, due January 19, 1642:	24s
E Aston		

20	Rece of Mrs Byford, widdow, of the Swanne in Heriford, ⁴³ in part of a dett of 3li that she hath owed me long:	10s
23	Rece of worthy Mrs Conyngesby of Hampton Coort, half a years anuety due to me out of the lordships of Neene Sollers and Cuttston, by the bequest of my deare brother Humfrey Conyngesbye, esquier, of Nene Sollers, desesed, I say due at Micklmas, 1642:	33li 6s 8d
23	Rece more of her the same tyme, half a yeares anuetye by the guift of worthy Sir Thomas Conyngesby, knight, desesed, due also at Micklmas, 1642:	5li
30	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington, 6 months usse for 20li, due Aprill the 7th, 1643:	16s
June	Rece for a 3 yeare >ould< black nagge coult that I bought of Phillip Wallis of Widmarsh Moore:	59s
John Birt cattell	Memirandon—I toke up of John Birt of Sutton, 2 heifers & 2 oxen in part of a greate deale of usse for 200li, at Bromyard faier on Whitson Monday, 1643, at the price of:	10li
	I sould the 2 oxen for 7li & I kept the 2 heifers:	7li
	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, one yeares usse for 50li stock, due Aprill 24, 1643:	4li
	Rece of Francis Spencer of Cleyhungur, 6 months usse for 12li 10s, due February 10, 1642:	10s
	Rece of John Lewes, glover in Heriford, one yeares usse for 20li due by him & Mr Richard Awbrey, due May 20, 1643:	32s
	Rece of Mr John Bradford of Leominester, 6 months usse for 10li, due May 13, 1643:	8s
	Rece of Richard Chamberlaine of Heriford, butcher, for 5 litle peeces of shellboards:	6s
	Rece of my cosin Richard Browne of Bromyeird, one yeares usse for 50li stock, due June 15, 1643:	4li
	Rece of Mr Peeter Nash of the Free Towne, 6 months usse for 200li, due [deletion] >June< the first, 1643:	8li

⁴³In 1663, when the Black Swan on Widemarsh Street is first mentioned, Thomas Prise was the landlord, but the timber-framed inn had been built sometime earlier that century. There was also a White Swan (see previous fn), and another on Broad Street, but few records apart from newspaper references remain. It may have been the Swan Inn mentioned in John Price's *Historical Account of the City of Hereford* of the late eighteenth century, and a Henry Jeffreys took over this White Swan in February 1781; cited in R. Shoesmith and J. Eisel, *The Pubs of Hereford City*, revised edition (Logaston Press, Almeley 2004), 173, 68–9.

my receights		
Aprill	I rece of Mr James Lane, alderman of Heriford,	
27	6 months usse for 100li, due March 13, 1642:	4li
rece my	Rece of my cosin Thomas Eaton, 6 months	
100li stock	usse for 20li, due March 15, 1641, at Garnons:	16s
& made even		
May 16		
rece hit		
1643 ⁴⁴	102li 15s 8d tru cast	
1643	Heryford receights and ellse where	[f 14v]
July		
3	Rece of Mr Captain James Barroll of Heriford,	
by Eliza	1 yeaes usse for 50li, due June 30, 1643:	4li
Acton		
by Mr	Rece of Mr Phillip Trahern, alderman of Heriford,	
Fran Geere	1 yeare and a halfs usse for 20li, due June 22, 1643:	48s
28	Rece of Mr Thomas Chip of Larpott, 6 months usse	
	for 50li, due Aprill the 11, 1643; by Elyzabeth Acton:	40s
[?]	Rece of Mr Harberd Awbrey of Cleyhunger, 6 12	
att Garnons	months usse for 50li, due August the first, 1642:	4li
5		
one yeare	Rece of John Leech of Lide, 6 months usse for	
behinde ⁴⁵	60li, due Julye 24, 1643; at Garnon rece it:	48s
August	Rece of Mr Edmund Aston, alderman of Heriford, 6	
14	months usse for 30li stock, due July 19, 1643:	24s
pasture	Rece of John Joanes, caryer of Heriford, for this yeaes	
14	rent of the pasture at Ailston till Candlmas next:	9li 10s
26	Rece of Mr Charles Baskervile of Blisse Halle in the	
rece in	parish of Staunton upon Wye, 1 yeare and a quarters	
my 20li	usse for 20li stock, due the 6 of May, 1643:	40s
& made	Rece by Mathias Rufford of Thomas Badnidge of	
even	Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li stock, due	
	May 8, 1643:	8s
	Rece by M Rufford of Mr Giles Lawrance of Worcester,	
	one yeare demy usse of 15li stock, due June 26, 1643:	36s

⁴⁴This date refers to the entry re Thomas Eaton.

⁴⁵This refers to the entry re Harberd Awbrey.

September 30	Rece of Mr Francis Geers of Garnons, senior, for 21 boshell of barley mault out of Heriford garner at 4s 6d a boshell:	4li 10s
mault one boz went for outcast 30	Rece of John William ⁴⁶ Gittos the tenant of Warton for 6 months usse for 800li [deletion] out of the farme there, due Aprill 28, 1643; by Mathias Rufford:	32li
these 2 were rece in August forgott till now	Rece of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 23, 1643; by M Rufford:	16s
	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due June 22, 1643:	8s
October 18	Rece by Anne Ailway of William Morris wyfe, tanner, in the Bye Streete, for 16 pownd of hops at 2s a pownd:	32s
barley mault hops	Hops Mrs Elyzabeth Acton sould to Goodwyfe Rawlins of Heriford, baker—6 pownd of the same Bromyard hops at 20d—and 6 pownd more to Goodwyfe Collins of the Bore Inde[Inn?]	10s
for the month of September	Rece by Mathias Rufford of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, 6 months usse for 100li, due August 19, 1643:	4li
	Rece of John Bond of Hampton Bishop, 6 months usse for 50li, due June the 10th, 1643:	40s
	Rece of Mr Francis Unett of Castle Froome, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due June 14, 1643:	40s
	Rece of Maude Pritchett, half a yeares rent for her & his howse rent in Widemarsh Streete in Heriford, due at Holiroode Day last, 1643; forgott till now:	30s
Lugge	Rece of Mr Arther Dawncer of Moorton upon Wye, 6 moneths usse for 50li stock, due July 17, 1643:	40s
	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 3, 1643:	40s
	Rece of Willim Gittose at 2 paiments for the half yeares rent of the farme of Warton, being Mr John Hacklitts land, due Aprill 28, 1643:	32li
	Rece of Mathias Rufford for the increse of 20 sheepe I had of his to halfes the last yeare, which 40s I paid him for 6 months usse of the 50li I gave him:	40s
	Rece of Michaell Hearing of Heriford, weaver, for licker:	3s

85li 13s tru cast

⁴⁶ 'William' has been written above 'John' in the manuscript.

1643	Heryford receights and els where	[f.] 15
October		
Mr Ruffords rece in this month	Imprimis—rece of the right worshipfull Fitzwilliam Conyngesby, esquier, of Hampton Court, half a yeares anuety due to me out of the lordships of Nene Solers and Cuttston, at St Mary Day, 1643:	33li 6s 8d
	Rece more of him the same tyme, my half yeares anuety, due to me at St Mary Day, 1643,	
	by the gift of worthy Sir Thomas Conyngesby:	5li
	Rece of my cosin Wallop Brabazon, esquier, of Eaton, half a yeares usse for 150li, due October 18, 1643:	6li
gray nagg sould	Rece of Leefftenant Rogers (that cam out of Ireland with a troop of souldiers to Leominster,	
2 horses & 3 men lay at Bradard of his troope	for the King) for my gray nagge: ⁴⁷	4li 5s
	Rece of Mr Thomas Geers his wyfe, for 6 pownde of the Bristoll sope I bought at Worcester, at 3d ob a lb:	21d
November	Rece by my cosin Francis Geers from Mr	
M Ruffords receights	Thomas Smith of the Weare at 2 tymes, 6 months usse for 50li stock, due August 12, 1643:	40s
	Rece of Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li, due November 8, 1643:	8s
	Rece of Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster, 6 months usse for 10li, due Desember 22, 1643:	8s
Desember	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington and Daniell Powle, 6 months usse for 20li, due October 7, 1643:	16s
20	Rece by Mathias Rufford of James Seaburn of	
James Seaburn	Ewe Withington, in part of one yeares usse	
30	for 100li stock, due to me August 10, 1643:	4li
January	He rece out of Mrs Byfords purs of Heriford,	
M Ruffords	in part of 50s which she owed:	10s
bill for	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimstree,	
this month	on[e] yeares usse for 60li, due Desember 9, 1643:	4li 16s
of Janary	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinoll of Heriford, one yeares	
40s behinde	usse for 50li, due Desember 29, 1643:	4li
16	Rece of Thomas Chippe of Larpott, 6 months	
	usse for 50li stocke, due October 11th, 1643:	40s
20	Rece of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford,	
	6 moneths usse for 20li, due Desember 23, 1643:	16s
27	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne,	
	6 months usse for 200li, due Desember 1, 1643:	8li

⁴⁷Royalists had laid seige both to Gloucester and to Brampton Bryan, the seat of the parliamentary Robert Harley, with the help of reinforcements from Ireland. C. Hopkinson, *Herefordshire Under Arms: A Military History of the County* (Bromyard, 1985), 86.

30	Rece of Mr John Bradford of Leominster,	
February	6 months usse for 10li, due November 13, 1643:	8s
Elyzabeth	Rece for 6 boshells of aples out of my Heriford gardin:	8s
Newtons	Rece for wardins out of Gouldings gardin:	2s 4d
[&?] Anne	Rece for >a< pecke of aples of Sible Wattis:	4d
Ailways	I rece of Maud Prichet of Widmarsh Streete in Hereford,	
receights	6 months rent for her howse, due May 3, 164 at	
she spunn	All Saints tide, 1643; she did spinn it out:	30s
it out	Rece of Elyzabeth Newton for whoops she sould:	6d
	Rece of Captaine James Barrell, alderman of	
	Heriford, 6 monthes usse for 50li, due Desember 30, 1643:	40s
Richard	Rece of Richard Howorths wife, servitor of the	
Haworth	Friers ⁴⁸ in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford, in part	
	of 8li 4s he oweth me for usse due:	10s
	Rece of Edward Trahern, girdler, of Heriford,	
	6 months usse for 10li, due July 27, 1643:	8s
	Rece of Mr Giles Lawrance [s] widdow, of Worsester,	
	6 months usse for 15li, due Desember 26, 1643:	12s
Warton	Rece of William Gittos of Warton, in part of	
rent	32li rent, due October 28, 1643:	20li
	102li 6s 7d tru cast, & 8li for Bakers 2 oxen	

1643	Heryford receights and ells where	[f. 15v]
March		
Mr Mathias	Imprimis—he rece of Mr Phillip Baker of Mardin, in	
Ruffords	part of 7li 4s, the usse of 20li for 4 yeares demy, due	
receights	Desember 12, 1643:	4li
in March		

⁴⁸ The Friars appears to be a reference to the hospital founded by Sir Thomas Coningsby. The original foundation, under the title 'Coningsby's Company of Old Servitors', consisted of a chaplain and 11 poor old servitors that had been soldiers, mariners or serving men, the chaplain to be an Oxford graduate and a preacher, well read and well spoken and 'of honest and discrete conversation'. Six of the servitors were to be old soldiers who had given five years service in the wars. They were to have a chief among them who had been a soldier and he was to be given the title of corporal. HAS Coningsby's Hospital A63/VIII/1–138; R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (London, 1868), 136. The hospital building was originally owned by the Order of St John of Jerusalem, but it fell into disuse after the Reformation. After gaining possession of the site in the late sixteenth century, Sir Thomas restored the hospital and its chapel using materials from the adjacent Blackfriars' Monastery; he also built himself a townhouse in Widemarsh Street. The hospital was further rebuilt in the 1970s, on a facsimile layout of the original, at the same time as the chapel area was converted into a museum. I am extremely grateful to John Wallin, curator, for this information. See also http://www.herefordshire.gov.uk/leisure/parks_recreation/2838.asp [accessed 5 January 2009].

	Rece of Thomas Vickeres of Tarington, 1 yeares usse for 50li stocke, due August, 1643, the 5 day:	4li
Warton	Rece more of William Gittos in parte of 12li he was behinde of Warton rent, due October 28, 1643:	3li
	Paid for 200 of cabidge plantes for Heriford gardin:	20d
	Rece of Francis Spencer of Cleyhungur, one yeares usse for 12li 10s, due February 10, 1643; at Garnons:	20s
92li 14s 4d from the top	Rece ⁴⁹ at Bradward the whole yeare past, for corn, cattell, rents and all maner of comodeties ells what so ever, ending on St Mary Eve, 1643:	80li 12s 8d
	Somme totall receved the whole yeare about, as well from Bradward as all places ells, for all maner of comodeties what so ever, the yeare ending on St Mary Eve, 1643:	383li 9s 7d
	due at Michalmas ⁵⁰	33-6-8
1644	New receights of rents, anuetyes,	
Aprill	usse moneys and what so ever ells from	
1	every place, beginning the first of Aprill, 1644;	
	I being then remaining then at Garnons.	[f.] 16
18		
Maud Prichet	Rece of Maude Pritchett, half a yeares rent for her howse roomes, due at Holirooday next, 1644; she paid it before hand because I was to cumme to Homcastle from Heriford then:	30s
18	Rece the same tyme of Elyzabeth Newton for ashen whooppes she sould to a cowper:	2s
Warton	Rece of William Gittos of Warton, in full payment of the 12li he was behinde of the last halfe yeares rent for Warton farm, due October 28, 1643:	9li
rece in my 5li stock & made even	Rece of Walter Walton of Newton, one yeares usse for 5li, due January 24, 1643:	8s
	Rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmore, 6 months usse for 50li, due October 24, 1643; not paid till now:	40s
	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, 6 months usse for 50li, due Aprill the 3th, 1644:	40s
	Rece of Mr Acton of Ivington, 6 months usse for 20li, due Aprill 7, 1644:	16s

⁴⁹ Here 'Rece' appears twice, but the first example is blotted. Obliteration by blotting or smudging was an 'inelegant method' according to Petti, rare in formal manuscripts and 'most common in rough drafts'; Petti, *English literary hands*, 29.

⁵⁰ This entry appears to have been written by a different hand—possibly that of her nephew—and in a different ink.

30	Rece of John Leeche of Lide, 6 months usse for 60li, due January 24, 1643; unpaid till now:	48s
May	Rece of Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, glover, 6 months usse for 10li, due May 8, 1644:	8s
8	Rece of John Bond of Hampton Bushop, 6 40s months usse for 50li, due Desember 10, 1643; rece now:	40s
Mr R H	Rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, in part	
15	of 6 months usse for 100li which as [sic] due, not paid till now, February 19, 1643:	40s
20	Rece in Mr Mathias >Ruffords< accownts of this May, 1644, from Edward Trahern of Heriford, girdler,	
rece in the	6 months usse for 10li, due January 27, 1643:	8s
10li stock	Rece the same tyme of Mathias Rufford back which	
& made	was overpaid to Mr Henry Powle for the Ducke [Duke]	
even	of Buckingham's rent of the grainge land at Leomenster a yeare agonne & forgotten till now:	5s
Goulding	Rece of Mathias Rufford (in this May) of Roger	
28	Goulding in Widmarsh Streete, in part of 2 yeres for his howse roomes in Widmarsh Streete, which was due at Candlmas last, 1643; rece now	8s
	Rece of my cosin Richard Browne of Broomyeard, one yeres usse for 50li stock, due June 15, 1644:	4li
June	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Ainstree, 6 months usse for 60li, due June the 9, 1644:	48s
	Rece of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 23, 1644:	16s
	Rece of Mr Francis Unett, 1 yeres usse for 50li stock, due June 14, 1644:	4li
	Rece of Mr Edward Lacon of Newton 1 yeres usse for 30li stock, due February 14, 1643; paid now:	48s
	Rece at Heriford for 80 boshell of barley mault, wherof 40 boshell at 3s a boshell & 40 boshell at 3s 4d a boshell:	12li 6s 8d

49li 11s 8d tru cast

**1644 Heryfordshire receights 1644 [f. 16v]
for the
months of July, August, September & October 1644.**

July		
10li	Rece of Edward Trahern of Heriford, girdler, the	
rece	10li stock which he owed me upon bond, & made even:	10li
	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne. 6 months usse for 200li stock, due June the first, 1644:	8li
20li	Rece of Mrs Jane Higgins of Heryford, widdow in	
rece	full upon a bond which her husband Mr Christofer Higgins was bound to me for, without usse:	20li & no

	I should have had by right of her in all 4li usse but forgave.	usse
wood sould	Rece of Thomas Bedford for a parcell of wood:	7s
in Heriford	Rece of Maud Prichett for a parcell of wood:	35s
from my	Rece more of Maud Prichett & Mr Witham for wood:	8li
wood pile	Rece of John Teagge, shumaker, for wood:	32s
totall for	Rece of Walter James for wood:	5li
wood sould 18li	Rece of or ⁵¹ Phillip >Towsy< for wood the same tyme:	40s
14s		
tru cast		
Philip	Rece of Phillip Wallis of Widmarsh Moore, in part of 3 yeares usse for 32li 10s upon morgage of	
Wallis	5 akers of tiladge in Chalow feelde in Holmers parish, due on Mickaellmas Day, 1644; being 7li 16s rece in part:	32s
rece by	Rece of John Prichet & Maude his wyfe, half a yeares rent for their howse rent, due at Micklmas, 1644:	30s
M Ruford	Rece of Mr Roger Heryford of Sufton, in part of 6li which he owed me for use of 100li, due August 19, 1644;	
32s	for whearas he should have paied me 4li the 19 of February, 1643 for 6 monthes usse for the same 100li, he paid Mathias Rufford but 40s:	4li
Mr Roger Heriford	Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, Rece of Mr 6 monethes usse for 50li, due October 3, 164[4?]:	40s
	Rece of Thomas Chippe of Larpott, in parte of one yeares usse for 50li stock, due October 11, 1644:	20s
Mathias Ruffords rece it	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew of Heriford, vintner, in part of 2 yeares usse for 10li stock, due December 4th, 1644; by Mathyas Rufford:	16s
Dew	Rece of Mr John Leeche of Lide by Heriford, in part of 6 monthes usse for 60li, due July 24, 1644:	35s
	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare in the parish of Kenchesteer neare Heriford, in part of 4li for one yeares usse of 50li, due August 12, 1644:	40s
Mr Smith of the Weare	Rece of John Lewes, glover, in Heriford, 1 yeares usse for Richard Awbreys dett, due May the 20th, 1644, for 20li det stocke:	32s
	Rece of Mr Humfrey Diggers of Heriford, 1 yeares rent for 2 swines cotts in Widmarsh Streete, due at Mickaellmas, 1644; I abated 6d of 10s: ⁵²	9s 6d
mault	Rece of Maude Prichett for 6 +8 boshells of barley mault being the last of all that is due for mault at 3s a boshell:	18s
sould		
Mathias Ruffords	Receights in Herifordshire for the moneths of November, Desember and January, 1644.	

⁵¹ Joyce had originally written 'for' here.

⁵² 'I abated 6d of 10s' has been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.

Imprimis—he rece of Mr James Barroll, alderman of
Heriford, 1 yeares usse for 50li stock, due
Desember 30, 1644:

4li

80li 6s 6dd tru cast⁵³

1644	Heriford sheere reseights 1644	[f.] 17
November, Desember & January 1644	Rece of Mr Thomas Veinoll of Heriford, a yeares usse for 50li stock, due Desember 29, 1644:	4li
20s behind	Rece of Thomas Chip of Larpot, in part of 3li use that was due October 11th, 1644:	40s
16s behinde	Rece of James Scrivener of Heriford, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 23, 1644:	16s
	Rece of Mr Philip Trahearn, alderman of Heriford, in part of on[e] yeares usse for 20li and a half a yeare moore, due Desember 22, 1644; rece now:	32s
swine	Rece of Mr Thomas Smith of the [deletion] Weare in the parish of Kenchester comitant Heriford, the other half of 1 yeares usse for 50li, which was due August 12, 1644:	40s
Gittos, he owed me 64li rent	Rece for 5 of the store swine I toke up of James Seburn of Ewe Withington, in part of a grete deale of usse for 100li; the 6 cost me 20s & I sould 5 of them for:	25s
October 28 1644	Rece of William Gittos of Warton, in part of rent upon a further accownt for Warton farme:	12li
	Wherof I rece of him at Homcastle in October, 1644:	22li
January also	So of the 64li due October 28, 1644, ther is yet behinde 30li.	
Mathias Ruffords reces in February 1644	Rece of Mr John Leeche of Lide neere Heriford, in full paiment of half a yeares usse for 60li, due July 24, 1644; the other 35s I rece before:	13s
March	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, 6 monthes interest for 200li stock upon a statute, due June >Desember< the first, 1644:	in part of 4li
	Rece of John Bond of Hampton Byshop by Herifford, 6 months interest for 50li, due June 10, 1644:	40s
	Rece of Thomas Badnidge of Leominster, glover, 6 months interest for 10li, due November 8, 1644:	8s

⁵³ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £78 6s 6d.

Mr R Her by Math Rufford	Rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton by Herifford, in part of 6li usse for 100li, due August February 19, 1644; that is 6 monthes due August 19 of February, 1644 and 40s arere, due February 19, 1643; rece now: 3li Rece of Walter James of Heriford, bruer, for 3 hoggsheads & 2 lesser vessells, for the usse of the salt peeter men there: ⁵⁴ 20s
Gittos 63li 14s this side	He rece of William Gittos, the tenant of Warton farme, in part of arereges of the last yeares rent: 3li Rece at Bradward the whole yeare abowt, ending on St Mary Eve, 1644: 70li 2s 4d
	Som totall rece the wholle yeare abowt, as well from Bradward as all places ells, for all maner of comodeties what so ever, the yeare ending on St Mary Eve, 1644: 263li 14s 6d
	In anno 1644, Mr Conyngsbye paid noe parte of my Auntes annuite oute of Neende Sollers and Cutson, beinge ⁵⁵
1645 Aprill	New receights of rents, anueties, usse moneys and what so ever ells, from every place and for all comodeties what so ever, for the whole yeare abowt, begining the first day of Aprill, 1645, at Homcastle. [f. 17v]
I had it in barley 40 boshell at 3s 2d a boshell ⁵⁶	Imprimis—I rece of Mr John Weaver of Wiggmor, 1 yeare demy usse for 50li stock, due Aprill 24, 1645: 6li Rece of Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill comitant Heriford, 6 moneths usse for 50li stock, due Aprill 3, 1645: 40s
James Seburn	Rece of James Seaburn of Ewe Withington, in part of 2 yeare demy usse for 100li, due February 10, 1644; I had 1 litle beoffe at 50s price & 6 rering pigges at 20s price; in all the money cam to: 3li 10s
shugger	Bought of Edward Cox at the request of Mr Joshua Ailwey of Worcester, 1 firkin of powder shuger, weight half a hundred, and 5 pownd and half at 12s ob a pownd: ⁵⁷ 14s

⁵⁴The final word 'there' has been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.⁵⁵This entry was probably made by her nephew, and appears unfinished.⁵⁶This refers to the entry re John Weaver.⁵⁷This entry and the succeeding four have a single vertical line drawn through them.

	Item 1 shuger loaf, weight 11 pownd & 14 ounces, at 15d a pownd:	10d
	Item 1 shuger loaffe, weight 5 pownd & 1 ounce, at 15d a pownd:	6s 4d
& nutmegs by Mr Rufford rece	Item = half a pownd of the best case nuttmeggs: Rece of Mr Francis Tramter of Bunshill in Herifordshire, 6 months usse for 50li, due April 3, 1645:	40s
May	Rece of Maud Prichet, half a yeares rent for her howse in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford, due at Holirood Day, 1645, being the last that ever she paied, or she removed and my howses were pulled down; she toke a howse behinde Alholand church in the citty of Heriford:	30s
	Rece for 2 calves of Robert Powle:	6s 8d
	Mathias Rufford rece that 40s which Mrs Coningesbye of Hampton Coort paid Elizabeth Newton, in part of usse due to her for her 50li, which Mr Colonell Coningsby oweth her:	40s
	Mr Rufford spent upon my bay mare, besides grass in my gardin, being at Herifford 10 daies:	2s
	Mr Ruffords receights in June, 1645:-	
June	Imprimis—rece of Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, the areres of 6li which he owed me for usse of 100li, wherof 40s was due February 19, 1643 & 4li for 6 months usse, due February 19, 1644; so that 6li is all paid & no more usse due till August 19, 1645, and then there will be due for 6 months, 4li:	3li
	Rece of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, in the Broad Streete, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 23, 1645:	16s
Mr Nash	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne (as Mr Ruffords bill of June 1645 saieth), in part part of 12li usse behinde for 200li, due June first, 1645:	40s
Rich Awbres dett	Rece of John Lewes of Heriford, glover, for one yeares usse for 20li, due May 20, 1645:	32s
	Rece of Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimstree, 1 yeares usse for 60li due June 9, 1645:	4li 16s
Warton	Rece of William Gittos, the tenant of Warton farm, in full disschardge of one yeares rent for the same farm, due October 28, 1644:	10li 2s
	The rest was rece at tymes the last yeare to make up the whole years rent—64li for 800li stock—& so that yeare 1644 is clered.	

37li 6s 6d tru cast⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £37 6s.

1645	Rece at Bradward in June 1645	[f.] 18
June		
	Rece for 25 dozen of hogshead whoops that were in my seller at Heriford, at 1s a dozen:	25s
	Rece for 2 ould hogsheds:	9s
	The severall names of those men that bought my 3 houses in Heriford with out Widmarsh Gate, when I was constrained to sell them or have them burned against the Earle of Leven: Generall Lessley, ⁵⁹ with his Scotts cam to beseege Heriford 5 weeks & went a way with out hit.	
being 2500 men	Imprimis—yong Mr Holmes, the mercer, in Heriford, bought my greate new house, with a greate deale of squared tymber at the saw pitt, with glasse, and all apurtinances thertoo:	50li
hit stood me in at over 500li	Item—Haiward, a tailer, and William Price, shu-maker, bought my howse over the way called Gowlding Halle for:	3li 15s
	Phillip Preece bought Maud Prichets halle and the inner roome:	4li
	Walter Merick and on[e] Buttler bought the Great Hale and the roomes over hit:	11li
71li 15s	Joseph Bowker bought the roomes over the staiers >case< by the well at:	3li
	Rece no more to put in this booke untill October, 1645.	
October 27	Rece on Simon and Judes Day, 1645, of Humfrey Hardman of Nene Solers, bailyf of the rents there, in part of 2 yeares demy	
anuety from Nene Solers	anuety due to me, Joyse Jeffreys, out of the lordships of Nene Solers and Cutston, by the bequest of my deare brother Humfrey Coningesbye, esquier, desessed (som tyme lord of Nene Sollers), after 100 marks a yeare during my naturall life, due at Micklmas, 1645:	16li 10s
remainse yet due to me, 150li 3s 4d tru cast	Rece of the same Humfrey Hardman of Nene Solers, in part of the above written	

⁵⁹ Alexander Leslie, first earl of Leven, was a Scots army officer who had fought on the continent. He took his commission as general from the English Parliament in May 1642, commanding the army that was sent to quell the Irish Catholic uprising in Ulster. He returned to Scotland late in 1642 and was commissioned as lord general of the Scots army. He eventually laid seige to Hereford on 30 July 1645, but lacking supplies and the support of the cavalry he withdrew on 30 August. D. Stevenson, 'Leslie, Alexander, first earl of Leven (c. 1580–1661)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16482>].

January	159li 3s 4d for 2 yeares and a halfs anuety,	
5	due to me Joys Jeffreys as above written at	
	Micklmas last, 1645, out of the lordships of	
	Nene Solers and Cutston aforesaid:	59s 8d
	Rece this at Homcastle on Twelf Eve, 1645.	
now re[ce]vd	And he disbursed for on[e] years maintainance	
of the 150li	to the poore there, due abowt Alholantide, 1645:	16s
3s 4d above	Which maketh the whole receight due at Miklmas, 1645,	
writen, just	to be 20li 5s 8d in part of much more:	
20li 7s 8d	I rece at Homcastle on Twelf Eve, 1645	
	of William Gittos the tenant of Warton	
hit should	farme, in part of one yeares rent or	
be 64li	usse of my 800li stock upon that farme,	
for the year	due the 28th of October last, 1645; rece:	20li
	Rece of Mr Scrivener 6 monthes [use], due	
	Desember 23, 1645:	16s

114li 10s 8d tru cast

1645 Receights by Mathias Rufford, for the monenthis [f. 18v]
of October, November, Desember and January at
Bradward, 1645.

Dew	Rece of Mr Christofer Dew, vinter, in Heriford, in part	
	of 2 yeares interest for 10li, due Desember 4th, 1645:	16s
	For he owed me for 2 years usse the 4th	
	Desember, 1644, and then paid for one year 16s.	
behinde	Then 4 Desember, 1645, there was due for	
one yeare	2 yeares; wherof Mathias Rufford rece	
at Desember	for 1 year 16s as is above written.	
4, 1645	Mr Ruffords receights in February, March & Aprill	
	1645:-	
	Rece of Mathias Rufford for a bay coult:	3li
	Rece of his brother in law, Clark, for 2 bay coultis,	
	the one at 2li 6s 8d, the other 2li 11s:	4li 17s 8d
	Rece of Mr Edward Lacon of Wickton, in part of	
	2 years usse for 30li, which was due Februar[y]	
	14, 1645—3li; the other 36s he would not pay;	
	then he put in for surety; Mr [blank] Streete paid now	
	because his former shuerty Mr Humfrey Wooldrige died:	3li
	Rece of Mr John Bradford of Leominster,	
	for 1 year for 10li, due November [deletion] 13, 1645:	16s
	There was 1 yeare more due then but that	
	was allowed him for plow tymber I had of him:	16s
due	Rece of serviter Richard Howorth of the Friers	
yet in	in Heriford, in part of 7 yeares usse for 15li,	
all 9li	due May 20, 1646, being 8li 8s, rece now:	20s
12s		



May 20 1646	And he was behinde for arereges of rent due May 20, 1639, and this [or ys] yet 44s, and yett I forgave him then 20s. Rece of Richard Teagge of Heriford, shumaker, for my brazen furnes, sould when my howse was pulled downe in tyme of the Parliaments warre in July, 1645, by the Kings comandiment, rece:	
18li 5s 8d this side	Rece at Bradward the whole yeare past, for corn, cattell, rent of pasture and all manner of comodoties els what so ever, the yeare ending on St Mary Eve, 1645:	4li 150li 6s 5d
	Som totall receved the whole yeare about, as well from Bradward as from Bradward all places ells, for all maner of comodeties what so ever, the yeare ending on St Mary Eve, 1645:	320li 9s 3d
1646 Aprill	New receights of rents, anueties, usse moneys and what so ever ells from every place, beginning the first day of Aprill, 1646, at Homcastle.	[f.] 19
25 Nene Solers rece at Crist- mas last in [p?]ast in part of 3 yeares anuety, 20li 5s 8d, & now 15li 15s 10d	Imprimis—>I< rece of Humfrey Hardman, bailiff of the rents of Nene Solers, in part of 3 yeares anuety that was due to me at St Mary Day last, 1646, for my anuety, d out of Nene Solers; rece now of him in part of 300 marks a yeare for 3 yeares, due at St Mary past: And I rece in June 1646, in part of the same 3 yeare anuety, for St Mary Day, 1646: The whole som rece of the 300 markes ys 36li 1s 6d; so remaines of this reconing just 163li 18s 6d, and at Mickaellmas next there wilbe due 33li 6s 8d for half a yeare more.	12li 17s 4d 58s 15s 10d 6d
I finde no money rece in May that belongs to this boke nor in June	Rece by Mathias Rufford, in July, 1646, 1 yeares usse for 60li, due from Mr Thomas Weaver of Aimestree, the 9th June, 1646: Rece by M Rufford of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, 6 months usse for 20li, due June 23, 1646:	4li 16s 16s
July	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington & Daniell Powle of Leinterdin, 2 yeares usse for 20li, due Aprill 7, 1646: The other 4s Mathias Rufford forgave them.	3li
4s forgi- ven him		

September 8	Rece of Humfrey Hardman, bailiffe of the rents at Nene Solers, in part of 3 yeares anuety that was due to me at St Mary Day last, 1646, for my anuety out of the lordship of Nene Solers; rece now in part of 300 marks:	20s
Nene Solers & now rece		from Tho Hinksman
20s	So that I have rece of St Mary Day rent out of Nene Solers, 1646, on this side of the leaffe with that at the top, just 16li 15s 10d and at Micklmas last [deletion] 1645, I rece 20li 5s 8d.	
	Totall yet due >of< the above written 300 marks: 162li 18s 6d	
this 8 day September 1646	I have rece in all of the 300 markes, 37li 1s 6d, very tru cast.	
	Rece from my cosin Richard Browne of Bromyard, in part of 4li for 1 yeares interest ⁶⁰ for 50li stock, due June 15th, 1646:	3li
Mr Rufford in his bill of August 1646	Rece of Mr Smith of the Weare, in part of 2 yeares interest for 50li stocke he oweth me, due August 12, 1646, rece:	40s
November	Rece of Thomas Badnidge, glover, of Leominster, half a yeares usse for 10li stock:	4s
rece in my 10li stock and made even	And 4s more I forgave him when I rece in my stock now in November, 1646.	
	Rece of John Lewis, glover, in Heriford, in part of one yeare demy for 20li, due November 20, 1646:	32s
	This rece by Mr Rufford in his November bill, 1646.	

31li 19s 10d from the top

1646	Bradard receights >and ells where< in November 1646	[f. 19v]
uss	Rece by Mr Rufford of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, 6 months forberance for 20li, due Desember 23, 1646; all thats due:	16s


⁶⁰This use of the term 'interest' here and in the following entry rather than 'use' suggests Joyce understood the term to refer to the compensation due to her as a result of the debtor's inability to repay, rather than the charge for the use of the money, especially since she employs both terms concurrently (see later entries). From 1646 she also described the monies she received as 'toleration' and 'forbearance', which have similar meanings. The definition of 'interest' was shifting away from the medieval notion of forbearance or compensation, but it remained highly contested. See E. Kerridge, *Usury, Interest and the Reformation* (Aldershot, 2002).

Nene Sollers	Rece of Humfrey Hardman, in part of my anuety out of Nene Solers, and due at Micklmas last, 1646:	15li
	Rece more of the said Humfrey Hardman, in part of my anuety, due at Micklmas, 1646:	3li 13s 6d
	My half yeares anuety ther at Nene ought to be 33li 6s 8d; ther is due to me yett neare 200li.	
February	Rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, in full disscharge of a dett of 200li upon his estatute:	200li
 5		
4li I forgave him	More receved of him for tollerasion for the same 200li, due at Candlmas, 1646, and 4li I forgave him at request & made even:	30li
March	Mr Rufford rece of Mr Christofer Dew, in part of 2 yeares forbearance of 10li, [deletion] due Desember 4, 1646:	16s
	and this I rece of Mathias Rufford in March, 1646, 16s yet behinde in Desember 1646, and this is truth:	
2	Rece of Mr Mathias Rufford from Mr Francis Tranntor of Bunshill comitant Heriford, one yeares usse for 50li stock, due the 3 day of Aprill, 1646:	4li
 not paid till now	And this was paid in March, 31 day, 1646; so it could not stand for Aprill, 3 day, 1647, Let it be rem[em]bred that in October 1645 I had no usse, which maketh Aprill 1646 to be a whole yeare, and that I rece in March folowing, 1646, as aforesaid.	
254li 5s 6d from the top totall with Bradard from the top 525li 0 8d	Rece at Bradward the whole yeare about, ending the last day of March, 1645: Adde the 31li 19s 10d on the other side to this side and then the totall rece is:	279li 15s 2d 5[6?]6li 6s 6d
	Som totale dissbureed dissbursed for the whole yeare, at Bradward and every where ells, endinge the last day of March, 1646 at Homcastle tru; wherof 200li [deletion] was receved of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, being part of my stock:	566li 0 6d ⁶¹

⁶¹ There appears to be a disparity of 6s here with the figure above.

1647	New receights of rents, anueties, usse	[f.] 20
Aprille	moneys, and what so ever ells from every place, beginninge the first day of Aprill, 1647.	
3	Imprimus—rece of yong John Leeche of	
Leeche	Lide neare Heriford, 2 yeare demy usse for 60li stock, due January 24, 1646:	12li
Nene	Rece of Humfrey Hardman, bailif of the	
rent	rents of Nene Sollers, in part of my anuety out of the lordship of Nene Solers and Cutston, being 100 markes a yeare, due at the Anun[cia]sion last past, 1647; I say receved now:	17li 1s 10d
May	Rece by[?] John Bery at Wiggmor faier, of Mr	
3	John Weaver of Wiggmor, for 2 years forberance	
paid him	of 50li stocke, due Aprill 24, 1646 last: ⁶²	8li
for mault	He rece the same tyme of Mr John Weaver	
6s 8d	in part of my 50li stock the somme of:	20li
30li behinde	I receved of Francis Spencer of Cleyhungur, in part of 3 yeares usse for 12li 10s, due February 10, 1646, at Homcastle:	30s
30s behinde	Paid Mrs Allis Williams of Heriford, widdow, in full payment of a dett of 100li I owed her:	100li
June	Paid her for 6 months tolerasion for the same;	
7	4li was due but she toke but:	40s
Whitson	Rece of Humfrey Hardman, bailiff of the Nene	
Monday	Sollers, the remnant of St Mary Day rent	
7	for my half yeares anuety there, 1647:	7li 11s 8d
remember	That wheras >by< Humfrey Hardmans leace he	
anuety	ought to pay 9li a yeare for the hay of Nene,	
40s paid	he saieth Mr Conyngesby remitted 40s to him	
short	and so he paieth me but 7li per annum, which makes my anewety to want that 40s a yeare of 100 marks paid.	
comitant	Rece from Mr Edward Wallin of Bodcatt in Mockas parish,	
Heriford	by his sonne Charles Wallwin, 4 yeare demy tolerasion for 10li his owne dett, due March 12, 1646, at Homcastle:	3li 12s
	Item—my cosin William Jeffreys rece of Mr Richard Stockwall at London last May, 1647, in part of stock of 70li,	20s
	and I forgave him 12s 11d arere of usse:	20li

⁶² A prescriptive fair was first recorded at Wigmore on 25 July 1304, Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>:[Wigmore] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006).

now he	Item my cosin rece of him usse behinde; then:	5li
owes me	Item I rece of William Stockwall of Nene Solers,	
30li	in part of his brother Richard Stockwells dett:	20li
	Rece from Mr Roger Heriford of Sufton, from Heriford	
20	faier, in part of 2 yeare demy tolerasion for	
Sufton	100li, due August 19, 1647; Mr Rufford rece it	
	of Mrs Francis Hereford, his wyfe; rece now:	5li
Heriford	John Bery rece of Mr Francis Unett of Castle	
faier	[deletion] Froome, in part of 12li for 3 yeares	
	usse for 100li due 50li stock, due June 14, 1647:	4li
20	John Bery rece of Thomas Chip, in part of 2 yeare	
Mr Mathias	demy usse for 50li, due April 11, 1647: ⁶³	5li
Rufford paid		
me 20s		
to[o] short	128li 15s 6d tru cast ⁶⁴	

1647**Aprill the first, 1647**

[f. 20v]

June

Rece by the hands of Mrs Ellenor Wednester, one
 yeares rent or tolleration for 50li stocke, from her
 father in law my cosin Richard Browne of
 Bromyard, attorney, due June 15, 1647;
 the which 4li I delivered back straight to Mrs
 Eliner Wednester as her right in yt—I doo but
 putt hit forth for her in trust:

4li

July
of 15li

Rece of Mrs Cowper of Worcester, widdow, in part[?]
 of a dett that Mr Giles Lawrance of Worcester
 owed me in his life tyme; and now his wifes
 mother is adminestrator & paid me now:
 The other 5li I shall have when she hath rece
 it of Mr John Minors of Northgate, and
 Mr [deletion] Joanes of Llanwarn.

10li

I rece from John Bery, by my cosin Harbert Jeffreys,
 to make up the 9li he rece of Mr Unett & Thomas
 Chippe [to] 10li, rece:⁶⁵

20s

alder-
man

Rece at Heriford Assises in August 1647, by my
 cosin Jeffreys, of Mr Davyd Bowin of Heriford,
 in full payment of 4li 16s tolerasion for
 20li which Mr Phillip Trahern owed me in
 his life tyme; 2li 16s I forgave Mr Bowin & rece:

40s

20li rec

I received my 20li stock and delivered up the bond.

⁶³ 'Aprill 11' had originally been 'Aprill 12'.

⁶⁴ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £128 15s 2d.

⁶⁵ The word 'rece' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

& made even	I rece by my cosin Jeffreys for me, of Mr Thomas Smith of the Weare by Heriford, in	
rece in my stok	part of 3 yeares tolerasion for 50li, due August 12, 1647:	40s
& made even	Rece of John Bond of Hampton Byshop, in full paimen[t?] of 3 yeares rent or tolerasion for 50li, due July 30, 1647:	12li
rece in my 100li	Rece of Mrs Francis Heriford of Sufton, in part—8li— of 15li tolerasion for 100li, due August 19, 1647;	
& made even	the other 7li I forgave her:	8li rece
August	Rece no usse money. Item—the first day of	
Scull	September, I rece of Mr Miles Scull of Warton,	
rece the stock & deliverd up the bond.	in full payment of a dett of 5li that he was bownd for Mr John Hide of Brierley in his life tyme:	5li
100li rece	More rece of Mr Scull for 6 yeares usse of that 5li 10s; the rest—33s[?] —I forgave him & rece:	10s
& delivered up the bond	Rece of Mrs Francis Heriford of Suffton, in part of 15li tolerasion for 100li stock, rece:	8li
September 9	The other 7li usse I forgave her, also I received in my 100li stock and made even. ⁶⁶	
9	This rece on Friday September 9th, at Homcastle. Rece of my cosin John Barneby of Brockinton, in part of 60li stock his father oweth me:	20li
	I forgave him 26li tolerasion & 8s the same tyme and toke no usse at all.	
October 16	John Berry rece of Mrs Weaver of Aimstree, widdow, for 1 yeares tolerasion of 60li, due June 9th, 1647:	4li [16s?]
22	I rece at Homcastle of Mr Thomas Veinoll of Heriford, for 2 yeares demy usse for 50li, due June 29, 1647—10li—of which I forgave him 40s & rece and had 8li cleere to my purre:	10li
1647	Received at Homcastle & ells wheare	[f.] 21
October 18	Rece of the Widdow Coocke of Bradfeelde, in full paiment upon the pawne of her wedding ring; the rest she paid me before:	5s
Nene	Rece of Humfrey Hardman of Nene Sollers, in part of my half yeares anuety, due to me out of the lordship of Nene Sollers, at Mickaell- mass, 1647:	17li 14s 4d
	Rece of Mr Mathias Rufford, that he rece of Mrs Biford of the Swanne in Heriford, part of anne ould dett of 40s that she owed me long	

⁶⁶This entry has been deleted with one vertical line.

	agonne, and now paid me:	5s
Mr Aubrey	Rece more of Mr Rufford, being money that Mr William Awbrey of Grenden left unpaid when he bought bullocks of mine 2 yeares since:	21s 6d
Mr Tranntor 30 of Bunshill 30	Rece of Mr Mathias Rufford then, half a yeares tolerasion for 50li, owing me by Mr Francis Trannter of Bunshill, due as I say in Aripriill [April] last, 1647, but Mr Rufford saith it was due this October 5th, 1647; rece now:	40s
	It rests upon further examinasion.	
November 9	Rece from my cosin John Barnebies mother from Brockinton, by Barneby Williams, in part of 60li[?] dett they owed me; rece now:	10li
Mr Robert Dauncer their brother brought it to Homcastle Fisher	Rece from Mr Arther Dawncer and his brother Mr Garnons Dancer upon of Moorton upon Lugge, comittant Heriford, for 4 yeares consideration of 50li stock, due July 17, 1647:	16li
	Rece by John Berry, in the month of August, 1647, from John Fisher, for half a yeares rent for the lower aiveries at Bradward, and the ponne medow & the 2 akers of meddow fallow in Wartons feeld, due at Lammas, 1647:	4li 6s 8d
	Rece by John Berry for the hay of the 2 litle plocks growing at harvest, 1647:	3li
	Rece for the grass of the hors plock then:	17s
due in November 7 1647	John Berry rece of Mr John Bradford of Leominster, 1 yeares tolerasion for 10li stok:	16s 2d
23	Rece by John Berry on Christmas Eves eve from Mr Richard Blashfeeld of Leominster in part of 4 yeares usse for 10li, due Desember 22, 1647:	10s
Desember rece nothing	Rece of Mr Humfrey Hardman, the resedue of my anuety due from Nene Sollers, by my brother Humfrey Conyngesbyes bequest, and was due at Mickaellmas last past, 1647:	[blank]
January 5 Nene Sollers	I rece of my cosin John Barneby of Brockinton, when he was going to London in Candlmas tearm, 1647:	20li
	He oweth me 10li yett.	

All paid

1647

Receights at Homcastle

[f. 21v]

February	Imprimis—rece of Mr Francis Unett of Castle Froome, in part of 3 yeares tolerasion for 50li, due	
March	June 14, 1647; by John Bery:	4li
Mr Richard Acton	Rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington, in part >of< usse:	40s
	Reece [rece] of the same Mr Acton, in full payment of my stock that was in his hand:	20li
all paid	Rece in full of all toleraation [sic] remaining:	10s
Mr Scrivener	Rece by John Bery, 1 yeares forberance from Mr James Scrivener of Heriford for 20li stock, due Desember 23, 1647:	32s
Mr Dew	John Berry rece of Mr Christofer Dew of Heriford, in part of 3 yeares usse for 10li stock, due Desember 4th, 1647:	16s
	John Berry rece of Mr Richard Acton of Ivington	
1648	New receights of rents, anueties, and tolerasion money, and what so ever ells comes in, in every place; begining the first day of Aprill 1648, at Homcastle, 1648.	[f.] 22
Aprill 7	Imprimis—recevved of Edward George of Cutston, which was allowed me by the comittres of Worcester, to make up my anuety that >was< to[o] short at Cutston at Nene Sollers of 100 marks a yeare, this being due at Micklmas, 1646:	5li 4s 8d
Cutson	For fo half a yeare	
	Item—for the whole yeare, 1647, Mr Raph Tacye received Mrs Coningesbies servant, which belonged to me.	
5li 4s 8d	Mr Charls Cornwallis of the Rocke rece hit for me and left hit with Edward George, the bailly of Cutson; I have rece hit.	
	May 3 1651	[f.] 23
	An abstracte out of my Aunte Jeffreyes, hir book of receipts, of moneyes and moneyes due to hir for consideracion & in arrears from seid a[?] persons.	
	Imprimis—Mr Thomas Hackluit of Kintley, John Duppa and Humfrey Easte of Eardesly by bond in 1643:	08-00-00 ⁶⁷
	15 yeares interest unpaid in anno 1643:	96-00-00
	Allexander Nunne & Thomas Nunne, 1 yeares int interest for 30li stocke, in anno 1643:	[blank]

⁶⁷ Comparison with f. 73 suggests this figure may have been £80 rather than £8.

George Giles & Miles Hill, 2 yeares dimity interest for 20li stock, in anno 1643: ⁶⁸	04-00-00
William[?] Harris oweth 10li with intereste ever since 1645:	10-00-00
Philip Baker & Thomas Turner of >the Fearme< [i?]n Marden, upon bond, 20li in anno 1644	
5 yeares behinde 1644:	10li-00-00
Sir Robert Whitney, Regent, 5 yeares interest behinde for 50li stocke due Aprill the 5th, 1646:	20-00-00
Item—Mr Thomas Guillam of Tibberton 2 yeares and a halfe for interest for 10li stocke in October 15th, 1644:	[blank]

[f.] 24

A note for the wooll
Mrs Jeferes

	li s d
+ delivered yow a note to the som of	0 16 6
+ per Mr Seaborne the 16 th daye August	
+ 1638 3 yards off bt bone lace more	0 1 11
+ & for buttons and silke	0 0 3

	li s d
Som is	0 18 8
	tru

A note of what I laide out in making your gowne of
Tammeletto

+ for half a yard of coullered buckram	viid
+ for whalbone—iiid; & for more silke—vid	ixd
+ and for makinge the gowne and kertle	xiiiis
per me Roger Seaborne	oo—xvs iiid

27th of September 1638 rec xiiis in
full of this note and all precedent
reconninges & demandes per mee Roger Seaborne

⁶⁸The words 'in anno 1643' have been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

THE BUSINESS AND HOUSEHOLD
ACCOUNTS OF JOYCE JEFFREYS

DISBURSEMENTS

1638 **A booke of new dissbursments begininge** [f.] **25**
Aprill **at St Mary Day, 1638, at Heriford; written**
1 **at John Fletchers howse, where I now dwell.**

rents due at St Mary Day 1638	Imprimis—paid John Fletcher half a years rent for the howse in Widmarsh Streete, due at the Annunciation, 1638: 3li	
3	Paid William Eysham, tanner, 6 months rent for 5 baies of billding; videlicet a stable, a barne & hay howses, due at St Mary Day, 1638:	20s
rent	Paid the Widow Beedlstonne 6 months rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at St Mary Day, 1638:	20s
10	Paid Mrs Morgan of Stoke Edith, 6 months rent for the Free Towne, due at Annunciation, 1638:	3li
rent	Paid Mr >Docter< Rogers 6 months cheeff rent, due at St Mary Day, 1638:	2s 6d
11	Silk lace & bordering & sowing silk for Nell Prichets stamill petycote & wastcote that I gaver [sic] her:	3s
	For making the same petycote & wastcote:	20d
	Gave Mrs Mary Wallwin, widdow:	1s
12	Gave Anne Hill of the Tavern:	1s
bay nagge	For a halter to leade the nagge I sould:	4d
sould	Gave my godsonne Fitzwilliams Eaton:	5s
14	Paid Mr John Haggley, vicker of Al Saints in Heriford, for my offerings & my servants, & for ¹ my gardins, at Ester 1638: ²	10s
14	To Simon Reece, the parish clark, his wages:	8d
	Gave his wyfe for dressing my seate at church:	4d
poore	Paid to the over seers of the poore of All Saints parish half a yaeres [poor relief], due at St Mary Day, 1638:	4s
paid	Gave a poore woman of Bystreete hosspitall: ³	4d

¹ The word 'for' was written above the preceding ampersand.

² For a discussion of the customary system of Easter offerings see the Introduction, fn 225. Tate has argued that rubric 7 of the liturgical instructions for divine service, which ordered that 'The Bread and Wine shall be provided at the charges of the Parish', appears to have been the 'real origin of Easter offerings', and claims that surviving vestry books give accounts of meetings that first agreed on the levy of 'paschal money', usually charged at half a penny or a penny per head. W. E. Tate, *The Parish Chest: A Study of the Records of Parochial Administration in England*, third edition (Cambridge, 1969), 102–3. A list of the 'Easter Reconings' in 1638 for the rectory of Crofton in the diocese of York suggests that in addition to payments for 'house duties' and offerings further charges were made for cows, eggs, foals, bees, and land. BI Archbishop of York's Cause Papers, C.P.H. 2297, 1634.

³ This is probably a reference to Kerry's Hospital, which was situated on Bye Street. Two hospitals appear on John Speed's map of Hereford in 1610, Kerry's Hospital and William Hospital. The map also reveals that there were two almshouses, St Giles' and St Ethelbert's, and Leland referred to 'an

	For a pair of shuse for my cosin Jane Gorton:	2s
	A new wash beetle—2d; for oile—6d:	8d
	For sawing a peece of ashe for coache axltreese>& valleys<:	1s
25li dett 17	Paid ould Mr Thomas Walsh of Mauncell, being the one half of a dett of 50li which which I owed Mrs Elinor Morgan, widdow, in her lyfe tyme; due to him as one of her executors, Mr Witham the other:	25li
	A quyer of paper—5d; inke & wax—2d:	7d
	Gave a poore woman—4d; gave Will Wootton—3d:	7d
	Gave Mr Miles Hackluit when he went to Stannway:	2s 6d
1d ob a yeard at 2d a yeard	Paid John Barnett for dressing & pressing 32 years of narow greene flanill for curtains:	3s 6d
	And dressing 11 years of greene cloth for a coverlet and 15 years of greene flanulls:	4s
	Sent Mr Maior, Thomas Simons, at his Law Day:	10s
	Gave the waites when I dined there:	1s
18	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—2s; bone lace for her—1s:	3s
	Gave Mrs Dorathi Mason, the same day my god daughter Walsh was brought to bed:	2s 6d
of 2: twins 20	Gave Margit Ailway, the nurce to John Walsh:	5s
23	Gave the midwife, Margery Driver:	20s
	To Jauncy the gardiner for 2 daies work & diet:	1s
	Gave a poore man in prison—6d; cloth for Godsall—13[d]:	19d
26	A paier of shuse for Megge Androse:	2s 3d
29	Gave Tipping of Nene—1s; & my cosin Jeffreys man—1s:	2s
	Thrid to stitch Anne Godsals bodies & bonne:	6d

37li 13s 6d tru cast

1638	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 25v]
May		
1	Bought by Mrs Eaton of London as followeth:- for 12 yeards of cobwebb lawne at 2s 8d a yeard:	32s
	3 ounce of white thrid at 2s & at 1s an ounce:	4s

hospitall of St. John, sometym a howse of Templaries', which by then was an almshouse and chapel. William Price founded a further hospital during the reign of James I, and Sir Thomas Coningsby's hospital, as noted earlier, appeared in 1614. Johnson, *Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford*, 122–36; L. Toulmin Smith, ed., *The itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543, Parts IV and V*, Volume 2 (London, 1964), 67. When Dingley visited in the later seventeenth century the 'Hospitall of St Giles' had been rebuilt in 1675 by Bridstock Harford, son of Dr Bridstock Harford, who was then custodian of the same. Dingley, *History From Marble*, ccxxxv.

	one pownd of whited browne thrid at 5d & 6d [an] ounce:	7s 4d
	Her husband, Mr John Eaton, bought for me	
	10 quier of white paper at:	3s 6d
tankard at 5s 6d an ounce	For a sillver tankard to give my goddaughter little Joyse Walsh, weight 19 ounce & 4 penny weight:	5li 5s 6d
shipping money	Paid Mr Mailard, mercer, & John Trahern, shumaker, for the shipping money for this yeare:	3li
gray mare	Paid Mr Coverley of Dillwin for a gray mare coult, 4 yeares ould:	8li 11s
3	For shuing my coatch mares when Mrs Bodenham, widdow, had them to Bristoll:	4s 6d
	For coultis ale, at the first shuing of my mare:	4d
	For 3 yeards of red baies for Betsy Munkland cote:	7s 6d
	Cannvas to line it—6d; thrid, silk & bonne—5d:	11d
	Foure yeards of elow say to line Elyzabeth Actons greene silk gowne:	9s
	7 yeards of sillver lace to goe abowt the skirts:	6s
	Sowing silk to the same:	9d
4	For shuing one of my coache mares in Leominster:	4d
weeding whete	For weeding one aker of whete of grainge land:	2s 6d
4	Gave Mathias Rufford—1s; & Mrs Rogers—6d:	18d
9	Gave John Harris to spend at markitt:	4d
	Gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys:	20s
	Mending a panne & a calldronne:	8d
12	Paid Mr Church for diing 11 yeards of greene cloth for a coverlett:	9s
	And 32 yeards of fine narow flanylls for window curtaines, at 4d a yeard:	10s 8d
	& 15 yeards and a half of brod greene flannulls:	6s 4d
	For 2 yeards demy of gould & sillver lace to finish up Elyzabeth Actons red bayse gowne, at 14d a yerd:	2s 11d
	Half a yeard of scarlet baies, that wanted:	3s
	Callicow—9d; silk—8d; ribands—2s 6d:	3s 11d
	For a vellvet mask to give Mrs Kate Wright: ⁴	1s
	Paid Edward Munkland 4 daies making greene curtaines & diet, & a fustian wastcote: ⁵	2s
	Gave Mr Edward Wallwins man, brought a kidde:	4d
	A paier of shuse for Anne Godsalle:	2s 2d

⁴The *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that masks, usually of silk or velvet, were worn by women for disguise at masquerades and balls. They were also used to shield the complexion. After the Restoration, gentlewomen often wore masks when taking a walk or visiting the theatre to conceal their identity. R. Latham and W Matthews, eds., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 10, Companion (London, 1983), 101–2. See also f. 52.

⁵The phrase ‘a fustian wastcote’ has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

grainge land remanes now 6li of the 10li I gave them	For twy fallowing 5 ackers of grainge land: Deliverd Edward Munckland to pay Christofer Smith a quarters rent for his howse in Widmarsh Street: For an elle of cloth to make an ash cloth:	15s 10s 14d
13	For a paier of blue hose for Megg Androse: Paid Mawde Prichet for 11 elles of flaxen: & for 13 yards of flanills:	22d 22s 13s
17	& 14 elles of welch yearn cloth, at 16d an elle: Gave Elyzabeth Acton—2s 6d; & the poore at the Minster—4d:	19s 4d 2s 10d
18	Paid Munckland for making Anne Godsalls bodies: Paid him for making her an oliffe culler petycote & wastcote of perpetian, laced with silk lace:	16d 3s 6d
22	Given Thomas Harris of Nene:	1s

28li 10s tru cast

1638	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 26
June		
1	For 12 pownd of white starch: Sent Joyse Burghill—5s; gave her mothers maid—6d:	4s 5s 6d
7	Gave Michael Hearing, the Lord Bushops bailiff:	15s
10	Gave the waits there at his feast:	1s
13	For a twiggen cage for my thrastle:	18d
ship money	Paid shipp money for 15 akers of ship grainge land at bye Leominster: Gave Mrs Mary Wallwin, widdow: Mending Anne Godsalls shuse & Meggs: To Munkland for making me an other fustian wastcote & diet: For cariage downe of a box with a sillver tanckard, paper & tifany & thridd: Gave Prissilla Port when she went to London: Paid Mr William Westfaling half a years rent for 15 ackers of grainge land, due at St Mary Day, 1638, to the Duke of Buckingham: Bought of Mr Harry Meredith, 14 yards & half of blakwatterd grogram at 4s 6d a yeard: 2 dozen of black bonlace to dress the gowne: Sowing silk—18d; rone canvas—1s; bonne—4d: Tafitey to face the gowne black: Fustian—22d; red callicow to line the bodies—14d: Red buckram to stiffen—9d; ribands, brod & narow—2s 8d:	2s 6d 6d 4d 6d 16d 5s 5s 3li 5s 3d 16s 2s 10d 2s 3d 3s 3s 5d
Elyzabeth Hackluits gowne		
16		

	Serge to border—20d; hoocks and eyes—2d:	22d
	To Mr Roger Seaburn for making this gowne	
	I gave Elyzabeth Hackluit:	9s
Anne Davies gowne	Bought of Hary Meredith, 15 yards of black wrought stuff at 3s 4d a yeard:	50s
	22 yards of black lace to dress the gowne:	12s 3d
	Half an ounce of silk—1s; rone canvas—1s:	2s
18	Blak serge—20d; bonne—4d; buckram—9d:	2s 9d
	Ribands—1s; black tafitey to face it—2s 6d:	3s 6d
	White fustian to line the sleeves—2s:	2s
	Scotch cloth—13d; hoocks & eyes—2d:	15d
	Paid Mr Roger Seaburn, tailer, in Herifford, for making this gowne I gave Anne Davies:	9s
20 woolle	Bought at Heriford faier for my owne afares:- Imprimis—for one stone & half of woolle, & 3lb:	20s 6d
	for 5 stonne of woolle, at 14s 6d a stonne:	3li 12s 6d
	for a coverlett of red & green yearne:	17s
	Gave yong Mr Miles Hackluit at the faier:	1s
	Gave Mr William Normans maid at the faier:	6d
medley	Paid for 16 yards of medley cloth to give James Wattis a shute, and others, at 2s a yeard:	32s
20 red cloth	Paid Mary Stefens of Leominster for 21 yards of red cloth to make my maids clothes, at 3s a yerd:	3li 2s
	For pewter—14s; for a tin watering pot—3s 2d:	17s 2d
	For a tin dripping panne:	20d
23 bever hat	For cariage downe of my bever hatt & box:	1s
	Cariage up of a letter to Mr Stockwall:	2d
gray coult	Paid James West of the Linberies, for turning the pace of my yonge gray mare:	6s 8d
24	For the first shuing of that mare:	16d

23li 2s 0 tru cast

1638 Heryford dissbursments [f. 26v]

June	For 2 shuse for my coach mare & removing the 2 mares shuse & mending a steele: ⁶	2s [?]d
	Gave my cosin Jeffreys man & Mrs Browns man:	1s
wages T Bedford	Paid Thomas Bedford a quarters wages, due May 6, 1638:	15s
	For covering this writing boke with parchment:	14d
	Spent at Tarington at the survey of the Free Towne:	6d
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—6d; & Bes Newton—4d:	10d

⁶The phrase '& mending a steele' has been added underneath the line drawn to finish the entry.

	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton to goe to Nene:	6d
	Gave her daughter Megge that went with her:	3d
	For a whett stonne for a sithe—2d; holand socks—2s:	2s 2d
	Gave my cosin Phillips maid—6d; & Nell Wilins—6d:	1s
my mare	Gave Mr Smalmans man for letting his hors com to my grete coatch mare:	2s
wages	Paid Elyzabeth Hackluit a quarters wages due:	15s
at Midsommer	Gave John Wins daughter of the Free Towne:	6d
he died on	Gave Margit Ailway, the nurce, when John	
the morow	Walsh was sick; he was 9 weecks ould:	1s
22 day	Gave William Normans maid at the faier:	6d
wages	Paid Anne Davies half a years wages,	
A Davies	and 4s she had befor to b[uly] flanins [flannels?], thats 20s:	16s
	To Edward Parsons for helping to clense the well:	6d
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton at the faier:	2s 6d
	Gave Anne Godsale then:	6d
	To Munkland for making Bess Farley a petycote & wastcote:	2s
wages	For cullering an under flanill petycote:	16d
J Harris	Paid John Harris a quarters wages at Midsomer, 1638:	10s
28	Paid for making my cosin Joane Farly a wastcote:	8d
red cloth	Gave ould Jones & his wyfe at the Friers:	6d
July	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—1s; shuse for myself—2s 6d:	3s 6d
1	Paid Mr Richard Ravenhill for 3 bredths of vallet	
wood	wood out of Halfwood, at 26s 4d a bredth:	3li 19s
8li 7s 8d	For lopping those 3 bredths of wood:	3s
	For making 18 duple dozen of drawes & 13 odde drawes, at 5d the duple dozen:	7s 8d
	Paid John Hodges for cariage of the 3 bredths from Halfwood to Heriford, at 26s a bredth:	3li 18s
cole	Item—for 2 waines loades of charcole at 18s a loade:	36s
36s	Gave Richard Hills daughter, of Bodenham, for cheries:	4d
total for	At Heriford faier for blue silk riband & tafetey & sillver lace, for skarfs for my godson,	
fuell 10li	Harbert Westfaling, & Joyce Gravell my goddaughter:	8s
3s 8d	For cullering my cosin Jane Gortons apren:	1s
	For a paille, a hind, a maultsive, & bowles etc:	3s 9d
	For cariage downe of blue tafitey & silver lace for Elyzabeth Actons peticote & Bes Hackluits hatt, and the cariardge of my silk kalimanco gowne:	2s
	Mending Meggs shuse—2d; gave Ned Harris—2d:	4d
26li	Paid Mr Thomas Witham of London in full paiement	
paid	of the 50li I owed Mrs Elyner Morgan, widow,	
the other	in her lyfe tyme, and 20s for a quarters usse for	
half 25li	the whole 50li, due at her death, January 11, 1637:	26li

I paid to
ould Mr
Walsh in
Aprill 1638

Paid Joane Delahay, widow, for the herbage of
Ailston pasture for the yeare following: 18s

42li 3s 3d tru cast⁷

1638

July

3
chamlett
cote and
kirtle
tawny

Heryford dissbursments

[f.] 27

Bought at London by Mr Richard Stockwell, tailor:-
Imprimis—17 yeards of tawny tirky chamlett
for my cote and kirtle, at 7s 6d a yeard: 6li 7s 6d
2 dozen and 10 yeards of here culler>silk< bon-
lace to trym the cote & kirtle & bodies, at
17d a yeards: 48s 2d

sackcloth to the staies, with bone, stiffening & classps:
fustian to line the sleeves:

bordering—18d; sowing silk—2s 6d: 4s

riband to the seames of the cote & down before: 3s 4d

for satin to face the sleeve hands, coller &
tafitey to line the skirts: 3s 4d

for canvas to stiffen the 8 skirts & 6 buttons: 6d

more, for one yeard of bonlace: 17d

3 for 6 yeards of deare culler 7d riband
for girdle, fannstring, & knotts: 3s 6d

som totall To Mr Richard Stockwall for making this
10li 17s cote & kirtle, lased with bonlace, sowed 3 tymes on: 20s

5d For canvas to wrap the cote in: 18d

17 Bought by Mr Stockwall a fortnight after:-
my black Imprimis—for 23 yeards of blak silk calimanko
silk caliman- to make me a loose gowne and peticote, 10s 4d [a] yeard: 11li 17s 8d
ko gowne for 4 dozen of fine black silk bonlace at 14s a dozen: 56s

sackcloth to the bodies with bonne and clasps: 2s 6d

for blak silk stuff to the staies of the loose gowne: 3s 4d

buckram & stiffening—2s 6d; sowing silk—4s: 6s 6d

bordering and 2 stuff pockets: 3s 6d

riband to the gowne & petycote: 4s 10d

for stuff to cover the back & bodies: 3s 6d

black tafity to line the short sleeves & face it: 7s 6d

fustian to line the sleeves—3s 4d; silk & buttons—6d: 3s 10d

6 yeards of black satin riband for girdle & knotts: 4s 8d

callico under the bodies, wings & short sleeves: 16d

a black silk rownd lace to lace the back: 6d

⁷The figures for this folio as given above actually total £41 18s.

	Paid Mr Richard Stockwall for making this loose	
	gowne, peticote & bodies of black silk callimanco,	
som totall	trimmed with fine silk bonlace, black, 2	
18li 1s 8d	laces in a place:	26s
	For 2 yards & half a quarter of canvas to wrap it in:	3s
August	Bou[g]ht of Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, in Heriford,	
	15 yards of blak tamelletto to make me a polonia	
	cote and kirtle, at 3s 9d a yeard:	56s 3d
	For one ounce of sowing silk—2s; sackcloth—15d	3s 3d
	For 2 dozen and a half of blak satin lace at 7d a yeard:	17s 6d
	3 yards and a half of 6d fine riband:	21d
	2 yards and half of 4d riband:	10d
all this	Half a yeard of duple sar[ce]net to line the skirts:	3s
bought at	One quarter of black broad cloth to border the skirts:	2s 9d
the first	For bonne & hookes & eyes:	4d
	Cullered buckram—9d; silk—6d; bonne—3d:	10d × 18d
fetchd by	For making this cote and kirtle of blak tamilletto:	12s
Mr Roger	3 yards of bonlace at 7d [a] yerd & buttons & silke:	2s 2d
Seaburn aft-	som 5li 1s 4d	
er ward	34li 4s 11d tru cast	


1638

Heryford dissbursments

[f. 27v]

July	Bought of Mr Hary Meredith, 8 dozen of curtain rings:	2s
	Tape—9d—for the curtain rings; moore tape—2d:	11d
tabee	For half a naile a yeard & a naile of black silk tabee:	11s
	Silk—3d; for making the tabee gowne sleeves—18d:	21d
	To Mr Roger Seaburn for lewsing out my tawny	
	chamlet gowne, that cam from London too litle:	3s
silk &	Buckram to stiffen the back—4d; silk & classps—4d:	8d
callima-	For loosening the staies of my new callimancko>& silk<	
ncko	gowne:	6d
gowne	For lininge a greene silk gowne for Elyzabeth Acton:	2s 6d
blak.	For making her a new blue tafitey petycote:	3s
E Acton	3 quarters of spanish rash to border the petycote	22d
	Sowing silk & buckram, to the petycote:	9d
	Ribands for the wast 10d; making her blue silk	
	wast sett with sillver ose ⁸ —18d:	2s 4d
James	For canvas, thrid, buttons, classps, loope lace, paste:	19d
Watis	For calicow—4d; thrid & red tape—3d:	7d
shute	Paid Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, a bill in	
	full for divers parcels of smalle wares:	18s 8d

⁸ Could this be a description of the style of decoration, as in 'o's'?

poulce wedded	Paid for weeding 5 ackers of poulce of grainge land at Leominster:	2s
	For shuing my coache mares:	4s
	For lether to mend my maids shuse:	10d
	To Hary, the smith, for mending the gardin shers & vilinge the saw & mending a steele:	2s 11d
mowing	Paid for mowing 3 litle pastures at Ailston:	18s 2d
	For making hay there:	2s 6d
	All the rest of hay making ther my neighbours gave me, for good chere and thanks.	
chariage	Paid Mr Harry Mellin for cariage of 20 waine loades of hay from Ailston to Heryford:	30s
	I gave his 2 plow men for their paines:	10d
wages 	Paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at Midsomer, 1638:	20s
a daw- ghter	Gave my cosin Jeffreys mesinger, James Merick, brought word my cosin was deliverd of a dawghter:	1s
	I sent the midwyfe & the nurce:	10s
	For a search to dress meale with:	11d
	Gave John Winnis boy, brought peres:	4d
23	Gave the poore at the Minster & cariage of a letter:	6d
	Gave Anne Hill of the Tavern—1s; & Elyzabeth Acoton—6d:	18d
	For a paier of stockings for James Wattis:	10d
	For Munkland for making James Wattis shute:	2s 6d
	Gave Goody Rods boy—6d; & Mrs Joyse Burghill—2s 6d:	3s
	For 8 yeards of tape for filletts—6d; brown paper—4d:	10d
	For>ta<king 4 woonts at Ailston—4d, gave Mrs Rogers—1s:	16d
	Gave Anne Godsall for her mother & herself:	1s
	Gave Mr Roger Seaburns man for beveridge:	6d
29	Gave Elyzabeth Acton & Mathias Rufford, when they went to see Mr Thomas Hackluit at Byford:	4s
when he toke his falle of his hors	Gave my cosin Michael Coningesbies sonne, Humfrey Coningesby, my godson, when he went to be a prentis to a barber in London:	20s
30	Cariad[g]e of a letter to Mr John Eaton in London:	2d
30	Paid Simons, the cowper, for work don:	2s 10d

9li 3s 7d tru cast

1638	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 28
August		
20	Paid Michael Hearing for weaving 9 yards of black & white cloeth to make my maids aprens:	9d
22	Gave Elyzabeth Acton when she went to Rotheras:	2s 6d
	Gave Mrs Issabell Burghills maid:	6d
25	To Dewell, the sadler, for mending the coach harness:	5s
	Paid for straw at 3 places:	4s 6d
September	For mending the [deletion] casement in my chamber:	6d
4	Gave my cosin Jeffreys man, that brought venison:	1s
	Half an elle of holand for socks:	20d
7	For cariinge downe of whalbon boddies:	4d
	For shuing and removinge my horses shuse:	4s
12	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—1s; & Mr Humfrey Conyngesby—5s:	6s
	For more straw in 2 places:	3s 2d
14	Gave Mary Jones, my cosin Walshes maid:	6d
she went to Worcester	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton to b[u]y her aples:	6d
	To Edward Munkland, 1 day in making a coverlet	6d
	For treacle—2d; a girdle for Anne Godsall—1d:	3d
cloth	Bought of my goddawghter, Mrs Joyse Walsh, 27	
16	yards of white woollin cloth, yeard broad, at 4s a yeard:	5li 8s
	For a brass possnett, weight 2 pownd & half:	6s
17	Gave my goddawghter Walsh, when she went from Heriford to dwell at Worcester:	10s
my cosin Walsh	I gave her dawghter, little Joyse Walsh:	5s
went to Wors-ter	I gave her new maid, Margit Waiths:	6d
	A paier of shuse for Megg Androse:	2s 3d
	For 2 paier of shuse for Elyzabeth Acton:	4s
	To Lewes Hunt for mending my maids shuse:	5d
	Apern strings for Megge & Anne Godsale:	2d
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton, when she went to her sister Bridges to Worseter, to make merry:	20s
22	Gave my godsonne, Fitzwilliam Eaton:	1s
	For scowring 2 yards & 3 quarters of flannills [flannels]:	2d
	For lether to mend Megge & Godsalls shuse:	10d
October	Mending Anne Godsalls shuse:	2d
1	Sent to the new maior, Mr Henry Mellin:	10s
of powell	For a paier of shuse for my self:	2s 6d
	Gave Ned Hosey for beveridge:	4d
cheeff rent	Paid Mr Brockden, the Kings majesties recever, one years rent for John Prichets howse, at Miklmas, 1638:	18d
2	Gave the waites when I dined at the maiors:	1s
usse	Paid Edward Munkland half a years usse for 6 pownd of his stock, due at Micklmas, 1638:	5s

trained sowldiers for Brad- ward	I paid Humfrey Matts of Warton, by the Justeses of Peace their appointment, for his training daies; I & Thomas Nicholls of Warton maintain him:	13s 4d
7	Gave Sir Humfrey Baskerviles keeper, brought me half a doa from from [sic] the knight:	5s
	Gave a boy that drove a score of ship from Kintley:	6d
rent	Paid William Eysham, tanner, 6 months rent for the upper stable & barn, due at Miklmas, 1638:	20s
Munland porsion	Deliverd Edward Munkland, in part of the porsion I gave his wyfe at their mariage:	20s
	For cap paper—1d; for a brazen basting ladle—14d:	15d
	For a brazen chell & a little candlestick:	4d
	For a new ridle—4d, & sparrow bills—2d:	6d
cheefe rent	Paid the canons rent for Prichets howse, Miklmas, 1638:	2s

13li 13s 5d tru cast

1638	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 28v]
October		
12	Gave Maud Prichetts maid, Margrit:	6d
at the faier ⁹	Paid Thomas Pivinch for making me 2 paier of spanish lether shuse, the lether my owne:	4s 6d
29	For a pownd of shugger to send Mrs Eaton when her sonn, Fittzwilliam, lay on his death bed:	20d
he died this day	For 6 lemons to send him also:	9d
29	Paid Ned Parsons for qininge the well side and breking blocks, 2 daies:	18d
31	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—1s; & Anne Godsalle—6d:	18d
at All Saints church	Gave Simon Reece his wyfe for dressing my sete:	4d
	Gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys:	10s
November	Given ould Wellington the almes man:	6d
2	To Dewell for 2 new cloth sadles, stirops bridles, girths & sadle clothes:	37s 6d
rent	Deliverd Mr Peter Nash, to pay Mr Lingsen half years rent for the Free Towne, due at Miklmas, 1638:	3li
the last that I shall pay	Given the huntsman of Ersley, Ovington, for wodcox: Gave Goody Mary Powell—6d; & Goody Harpers maid—2d:	18d 8d
3	Given Mrs Birts maid—4d; & Ned Harris—2d:	6d
tooles	To Thomas Bedford to pay for a hatchet, an awgger, 2 cheesells & 3 gymmlet bits:	3s 2d
	To Thomas Seaburn, apotycary, for an antidot:	4s

⁹This refers to the entry re Maud Pritchett's maid.

rent	Paid the Wyddow Bidleston half a years rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at Miklmas, 1638:	20s
rent	Paid John Fletcher 6 months rent for the howse I dwell in, due at Miklmas, 1638:	3li
wages	Paid John Harris a quarters wages, due at Miklmas, 1638:	10s
	I gave him when he went out of my service:	5s
	For cariage of a letter to Mr Richard Stockwall:	2d
	Sparow bills for Anne Godsall & Megges shuse:	2d
	For mending their shuse—2d; for inke—2d:	4d
	For cullering 4 yeards of flanills red for E Acton:	1s
	Serdge to border her stamill peticote:	10d
	Fustian, ribands, silk and binding & red thrid:	18d
cheeff	For a segge matt for my chamber chimney:	22d
rent	Deliverd John Winnes to pay Mr Dockter Henry Rogers, parson of Stoke Edith, half a yeares	
the last	rent out of the Free Towne, due at Miklmas, 1638:	2s 6d
I pay	For 3 whole peeces of fine tape:	2s 5d
cheeff	For a quier of browne paper to putt under pies:	2d
due to the	Paid Mr William Westfaling half a years cheeffe	
Duke of	rent for 15 akers of graing land, due at Miklmas, 1638:	5s
Bucking-	Sent up by my cosin Browne of Bromyard, to deliver	
ham	to Mr Richard Stockwall, to pay for a paier of new curlles—5s 6d; mending a paier—2s 4d;	
	a box—4d:	8s 2d
graing	For 2 boshells of whete to sow one aker of my graing land:	10s 4d
land	Item—for one peck more of whete for the same land:	18d
whete	For 3 horses mete in Worcester at Bes Actons,	
Worce-	going thither & returning back:	10s 4d
ster	In beere for my 2 men at their inne:	6d
	My cosin Anne Bridges gave them diett.	
powlce	Paid John Hodges for cariing 4 waine loads of powlce & a half out of the 5 akers of gra[i]ng land:	5s 4d
hatt	For dressing my beaver hatt in Worcester:	18d
	For lining the crowne with tafitey:	1s
my	Paid my cosin John Rufford for a new bever hatt:	3li 17s
new hatt	For 2 ells 3 quarters of blu[e] ritch [rich?] tafitey to make E Acton a petycote cote [sic] at 13s the elle:	35s 9d

19li 11s 9d tru cast¹⁰

¹⁰ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £19 10s 11d.

1638	Heryford dissbursements	[f.] 29
November		
4	For 3 ounce and half a quarter of sillver lace to dresse the blue tafity peticote, at 5s 6d an ounce; 6 yards:	17s 3d
	For cariage downe of these things:	1s
straw	Paid William Delahay for all his straw left:	40s
wages	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coachman, half a years wages, due November 6, 1638:	30s
8	Paid Edward Munkland for making up a greene cloth coverlet & a new wastcote & petycote for my cosin Jane Gorton, & divers other work, 7 daies and diett:	3s 6d
9	Gave E Acton for gloves—6d; & a boy of Homcastle—1s:	1s 6d
1 aker was sowed with whete	Paid James Davies for throshing 6 boshell of seed rye to sow 4 akers of grainge land & lotting the whole 5 akers:	5s 4d
	Paid Harry the smith for work donne about the coache & an iron panne; for the stable & other work:	5s
	Half a yeard of tyfany for Elyzabeth Acton:	1s
	Gave her to b[ul]y thrid—9d; removing hors shuse—2d	11d
reprasion of the church	Paid towards the reprasions of All Saints church: ¹¹	3s
13	Paid Edward Parsons for 2 daies cleaving blocks:	16d
he brought a fatt hogge from my cosin Roger Rufford	Gave Mrs Rogers—1s; & James Davies—9d:	21d
	Sent by James Davies to John Hodges of Leominster, for plowing & sowing 4 akers of rye & one of whete—graing land—at 3s 6d an aker:	17s 6d
	To Munkland for on[e] daies worke more:	6d & diet
	For a sugger loffe 7lb demy weight at 2s a lb:	15s
	For one elle of cambrick for hankerchers	7s
	4 yards demy of greene silk lace to binde Elyzabeth Actons petycote—2s; bordering, silk & riband—13d:	3s 1d
	For fustian to line Elyzabeth Hackluits new chamlett gowne sleeves, forgotten till now:	15d
	For 4 yards demy of flanills to make Megge Androse an under petycote, at 9d a yeard:	3s 4d
	For 4 yards demy of black silk binding lace for my cosin Jane Gortons new red cloth wastcote:	18d
	For binding & clasps—2d; bon lace for handkerchers—5s	5s 2d
wages	Paid Anne Davies for half a years wages at Miklmas:	20s

¹¹ Edward Trahern and Phillip Benny noted this contribution from Joyce in their accounts for 1638. HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5).

	I gave Mr Harford, the phisision, when Mathias Rufford was sick of a hott fevour:	20s
	I gave Thomas Seaburn, apoticary, for his phisick:	40s
22	Cariage down of a box with currles & a letter up:	6d
26	Given Elyzabeth Acton—1s; for 2 cole basskitts—8d:	20d
	Paid 2 men 4 daies sawing planks for my stable:	6s 8d
	Paid ould Thomas Wanklin 6 days in planking the stable where I dwell; John Fletcher howse:	5s
grainge land	Paid toward the Kings provysion for the 15 akers of grainge land I bought of William Wanklin:	2d
	Paid at the Hollyment for a soine peny ¹² for the grainge land at Leominster:	1d
the wod my owne	Paid Rowland Androse for making 2 cheier frames:	3s 9d
	For allam—2d; for 2 mats for the chambers—1s:	14d
	For 2 earthen pippins—5d; for whooping—16d:	21d
	For a wollin apern to cutt up meate with:	10d

13li 7s 6d tru cast

1638	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 29v]
Desember		
11	Paid Elizabeth Hackluit a quarters wages in all due at Miklmas, 1638, & a quarter at Midsomer, 1638:	30s
wages	Given a poore woman:	3d
E Hackluit	Paid for a new pewter band pott, weeing	
forgot of	9 pownd of the best pewter, at 18d a pownd:	14s
till now	For 6 yeards & half of bon lace, at 3d a yeard:	3s 4d
13	A paier of shuse for Anne Godsall:	2s 2d
13	Paid ould Wanklin for mending the capons tubb:	8d
14	Gave James Merick, brought woodcocks, partridges & rabitts from Homcactle:	1s
	Mending Anne Godsalls shuse & Megge Androse:	6d
	Mathias Rufford gave Mr Thomas Hackluits maid and man, when he brought home Elyzabeth Hackluit:	8d
	For 4 new shuse for my coache mare:	2s
	& for 4 removes for the other coache mare:	6d
	To John Badam for scabbling & holing 212 tiles:	1s
	Paid for cariinge them home:	2s

¹²The word 'soigne' appears to be an obscure word for 'essoine', an allegation of an excuse for non-appearance in court on the day assigned. At the opening of a Halmote Court or Court Baron all those 'that have anything to doe at this Court' were commanded to draw near and give attendance, and anyone wishing to be essoined or enter a plaint were to make themselves heard; J. Wilkinson, *A Treatise Collected Out of the Statutes of the Kingdom, and according to the common experience of the Lawes* (1628), 142. The court in question was the manor of Ivington, as revealed in the later entry on f. 35v, which presumably controlled the grange land held by Joyce at Leominster.

	Paid for the same load of tile to Walle of Hofl]mer:	4s
	For a new alminack—2d; & a new tubb—4s 4d:	4s 6d
	For beere at Warton for Mathias Rufford when he went to take possession of Mr Hackluits farme:	4d
	Paid Michael Hearing for weaving 4 dozen of welch yarn napkins:	4s 9d
a brass jack	Paid Robert Whittier for a new brazen jack he bought for me in Oxford:	30s
	To Whittier for bringing down the same jack:	2s
	Paid George Gilding, joyner in Heriford, for putting up the same jack in my kitchen, at the howse I dwell in Widmarsh Streete, & nailes:	22d
19	For a paier of shuse for James Wattis:	20d
	For stuff to drench the coache mare:	4d
	Gave Mrs Mary Wallwin—1s; and a blinde man—3d:	15d
	For cariage of a leter from John Edmunds of London: ¹³	2d
20	For mending James Wattis shuse & for a matt:	5d
24	Gave Elyzabeth Acton against Cristmas:	8s
24	Gave Mr Thomas Eaton for drawing a paier of indentures of the writings of the Free Towne, that were delivered up to Peter Nash when I sould him the Free Towne:	10s
24	For footing Anne Godsals hose with blue yearne:	4d
	A cabidge nett—2d; paid for a new axe—2s:	2s 2d
	Paid John Probin for 36 pownd of lead for to make weights for the jack, at 2d ob a pownd:	6s 8d
	To Hary, the smith, for iron to hang the waights:	2d
	To him for the cross plate of the jack:	6d
	For mending the wedges to cleve wood:	4d
30 payed[?] on New Years Day 1638. Mr John Edmunds	Gave towards the stipend to Mr Haggley for preching Sondaies in the after noone, every Sunday, [deletion] for the whole yeare past, ending on New Years Eve, 1638:	10s
	Mr John Edmunds of London, scrivener, paid Mr Richard Stockwall of London, taylor, for 12 yeards of stript tifany for neck skarfs for me, at 2s 6d a yeard:	30s
	And for a paier of whalbon bodies for me:	11s 6d
	For 2 yeards of bon lace for my cosin Jeffrey handcarcher & Mr Coningesbyes New Years giftes tis on the other side ¹⁴	5s

9li 9s tru cast

¹³ The words 'of London' have been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.

¹⁴ A cross has been written over the centre of this entry and the words 'tis on the other side' written above the line drawn to finish it.

1638	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 30
December		
25	Gave the poore at the Minster church:	6d
	Gave James Prichet, the button boy:	1s
Cristmas	Gave Joyse Simons, my god daughter:	1s
Day	Gave the waites of the citty:	2s 6d
	Gave the 2 beedles of the citty also:	8d
27	Gave the plaiers at my new howse:	5s
	Gave my cosin Jeffreys man & Mr Camms man:	14d
January	January Gave Anne Aston, Mrs Letchmors dawghter:	1s
1	Gave Doll, the bakers maid—6d; James Davies—6d:	1s
	Given againe to Joyse Simons, brought sugger & lemons:	2s 6d
	Gave Sir John Giles, the fidler:	1s
	Give Betty of the Tavern, brought wine:	6d
4	Gave Thomas, my cosin Henry Browns man:	1s
	I sent my neece, Elyzabeth Browne:	10s
5	Gave Tipping of Nene Solers:	1s
6	Gave 2 fidlers on Twelf Day:	1s
	Gave Mr Phillip Bakers man, brought aples:	4d
11	Gave Humfrey Rod—1s; & Richard Kingman—1s:	2s
	Gave my cosin cosin Thomas Blunts wyfe:	1s
	For a lace—1d; cariage of a tirkie to Mr Stockwall—1s:	13d
17	Given my cosin Jeffreys boy againe:	6d
	Gave Mrs Geerses maid of Garnons:	6d
19	Gave Richard Cashole, the millner:	6d
	Inke & waxe—3d; to the cowper—2d:	5d
	For a skin of parchment to coppy out the ould originall leace of the Free Towne:	8d
	For fastening on the coache marris [mares] shues:	2d
22	Given Anne Hill, Mrs Lechmors maid:	1s
Mr Henry	Paid for a boke of the life and death of Mr Welby: ¹⁵	6d
Welbye	Gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys:	10s
23	Gave my cosin Tom Harris of Nene:	6d
29	For a new twiggen cage for my thrastle:	18d
30	Paid for Edward Parsons for empt[y]ing the little howse:	3s 8d
31	And for 4 daies cleaving blocks, at 8d a day:	2s 8d
February	Paid Anne Davis a quarters usse for 20li,	
10	due at Candlmas 1638; paid in the 20li also:	8s
usse	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to put in her purce:	5s

¹⁵Thomas Heywood, *The phoenix of these late times: or the life of Mr Henry Welby, Esq; who lived at his house in Grub-street forty foure yeares, and in that space was never seene by any. Aged 84. Who in all that time neither dranke wine, nor eate flesh, as it is testified* (London, 1637).

James	For 2 ship skinins to lyne the boys hose:	14d
Wattis	For calicow—7d; greene silk—4d:	11d
cloth shute	Buttons and paste-boorde—5d; loope lace—1d:	6d
	Thrid, blak & browne—7d; riband & classps—4d:	11d
welsh yearn	To Edward Munkland for making the shute & diet:	2s
to line the	Dowlas to line the dublett:	16d
hose I had	Paid John of the Cott for tininge the pasture	
in the howse	at the White Crosse—6d; & 3 daies	
before	at Ailston—21d:	2s 3d
14	Paid Mathias Rufford for a greate elme	
in Ailston	tree he had of Mr John Price:	22s
growing	I paid for falling the same tree:	20d
15	To a lād that tied the rop[e] to the elme top	
	to pull him downe:	3d
16	Gave Joane Halle, somme tymes my servant:	1s
Joane Halle	To ould Wanklin 1 day demy making a wheelbarow:	15d

5li 6s 1d tru cast


1638	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 30v]
February		
	Given Tom Aston for being my valantine: ¹⁶	2s
	For a paier of greene stockings for Elyzabeth Acton:	2s 5d
	A paier of shuse for her, blak lether:	2s 2d
	For a pownde of powder blue starche:	16d
	For 3 baggs to cary fruite from Bristoll:	1s
	A barrit & a pott to putt oliffes & capers in:	6d
	For a white irish rugge for my bed:	25s
	Paid John of the Cott for 7 daies work in	
	my gardin, at 7d a day:	4s 1d
	To Edward Parsons, one days work in my gardin:	8d
	And one day clensing the draw well:	1s
	Gave Mrs Mary Wallwin, Mary Powell & fidlers:	18d
	For shuing my 2 coache mares & 8 removes:	5s
	Cariinge up a letter to Mr Stockwall:	1d
tobacko	For cariage of 3 pownds of tobacko from my	
25	cosin John Rufford from London to Herifford:	4d
March		
1	Gave James Merick, brought a salmon:	1s
2	Gave Elyzabeth Huse, brought a hare from Kintley:	6d
	Gave Margery Bluik & her daughter Alise:	1s
	Given Houltys wyfe—6d; mending Megges shuse—3d:	9d

¹⁶Tom Aston reappears as Joyce's valentine in February 1641/2, f. 47. For other valentine entries see ff. 41v, 63v.

	Paid for a bend of lether—3s; gloves—14d:	4s 2d
5 akers	Paid John Birch of Leominster, for plowing 5 akers of grainge land the last somer:	15s
3	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton—6d; & Mr Gomans maid—4d:	10d
5	Sent to Worcester to my goddaughter Walsh, of a token:	10s
Worcester	Returned up to Mr William Wallwin, to send to Antwarp to my sister Sible Warrin:	3li
Antwarp & 40s my cosin Jeffrey sent her	Gave Mr John Edmunds, scrivener, in London, for his paines to receve som moneys for me:	10s
9	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coache man, a quarters wages, due February 6, 1638:	15s
T Bedford	Gave Mrs Geerses maid, brought 2 capons:	6d
9	Gave Jane Eysham—4d; & Benitt—2d:	6d
10	Gave James Davice to goe to Homcastle with [?]:	1s
12	For a paiar of shuse for Megge Androse:	2s 3d
	Given Elyzabeth Acton to goe to the cristening of Edward Wallwins dawghter, called Elyzabeth:	20s
Worcester	Paid for 12 yeards of duble cobweb lawne at 2s 3d a yeard—27s; lace for Elyzabeth Acton—7s 6d:	34s 6d
	Half an ounce of fine sisters thrid:	18d
	Fine lawne 2 yeards—16s; scots cloth—14s 2d:	30s 2d
16	I gave Elyzabeth Acton towards her muffe: ¹⁷	3s
	Paid for a gould ring to give my little cosin Mary Russell:	5s 6d
	Mathias Ruffords horse meat in Worcester:	16d
	His expences in Worcester on[e] night having his diett gratis at my cosin, cosin James Bridges howse:	5d
side	Paid Roger Dewell of Heriford, sadler, for lether for the furniture—5s; a shute of buckles—1s:	6s
sadle	For making the furniture:	6s
	2 yeards & a half of buckram to line the cloth:	3s
	For 2 dozen & a half of brod blue silk lace to strip all downe the bastard skarlet cloth:	10s
	For 4 dozen & a half of narow blue silk lace, 3s 10d a dozen:	13s 6d

15li 4s 6d tru cast

¹⁷ Muffs as well as masks (see ff. 25v, 52) were popular accessories in the middling decades of the seventeenth century. I. Brooke, *A History of English Costume*, third edition (London, 1949), 111.

1639 ¹⁸	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 31
March		
26	For one ounce & half of blue silke to make	
side sadle	tufftes for the cloth and furniture:	3s
of bastard	For 2 dozen and half of blue silk buttons & loopes:	7s 6d
scarlet with	For making the cloth—scarlet, drest thick	
blue silk	with blue silk lace stript downe:	8s
lace	For a crule raine:	3s 4d
	For a bitt and bosses—3s 4d; a brasse stirrop—2s 6d:	5s 10d
	For a new seate to the side sadle:	3s
3li 12s 2d	For a new paier of raines:	3s
	For a hemp raine—4d; mending a collar—3d;	7d
26	For a paier of wollin hose for James Wattis:	1s
	For 2 elles of bon lace for my cosin Jane	
bay	Gortons 4 coyfes:	4d
coult	Paid for the first shuing my yong coache mare:	20d
shued	& for 2 removes—3d; gave the sexton—6d:	9d
26	Paid John Trahern, my souldier, 3 daies training:	5s
training	Paid for 2 thrumme mabbes for the howse:	1s
souldiers	For 9 elles & a yeard of welch yearn cloth,	
27	at 17d an elle, for sheetes:	13s 9d
	Paid Mathias Rufford for an ellme tree:	22s
28 ¹⁹	Paid Mr Harford for his cowncell in phisick	
	for Elyzabeth Hackluit & Bes Newton:	40s
	Paid for a paier of shuse for James Wattis:	21d
	To the cowper—2d; inke & wax—3d:	5d
	Paid Frank Rapper 4 daies helping in the stable & diet:	4d
	Stuff to dress my mares foote—3d; hooocks—1d:	4d
shipp	Paid Mr Henry Mellin, maier of Heriford,	
money	for the shipping money for this year, 1639:	25s
paid	Bought at London by Mr Richard Stockwall, tailer:-	
29	Imprimis—for 8 yards & a half of fine Flanders serge,	
black serg	black, to make me a cote & kirtle, at 8s a yeard:	3li 4s
cote and	Item—for 1 yeard and a half more of black serge:	12s
kirtle	for 2 dozen and 8 yards of—at the first—of black	
	satin lace to trym the cote and kirtle, at 7s a dozen:	18s 8d
	taffitey & satin—black—to face the hands & stominger:	6s
	black galoone lace & button to the hands:	10d
	for sowing silk—2s; sackcloth to the bodies &	
	busk—3s 4d:	5s 4d
	for bordering—14d; dimety to line the sleeves—2s 6d:	3s 8d

¹⁸This should be 1638.¹⁹This date refers to the entries beginning with that of Rufford.

	riband for the cote, kirtle and stominger:	3s
	7 yards of satin riband for girdle, fann strings, etc:	3s 6d
	for 6 yards more of satin lace that wanted:	3s 6d
6li 13s 6d	more sowing silk sent from London:	1s
at the first	7 yards of black sat To Mr Richard Stockwall for	
& after that	making this cote & kirtle stript downe with black	
Mr Seaburn	satin lace:	12s
erned & had	To Mr Roger Seaburn, tailer, of Heriford for	
6s 5d	altering and making this cote & stominger fitt:	4s
	And for silk & fustian, tabye, bon, clasps, canvas:	2s 5d
some of the	For 2 elles of fine canvas to lap the cote dow[n]	
cote in all	from London to Heriford:	3s 6d
6li 19s 11d	I paid for cariage down of the cote, etc:	4d
tru cast	I paid Jon Simons for whoopping a hogshed:	4d
beside	Paid for plowing & sowing my 5 akers of	
the canvas	grainge land by Leominster in Lent, 1638:	17s 6d
to lap in	To Thomas Web for breking my yonge bay mare:	6s 8d

15li 15s 10d tru cast

1638

March

31

Spent in my howse in Heryford the whole	[f. 31v]
yeare, ending on St Mary Eve, 1638,	
in corn, mault, flesh, fish, wine, sugger &	
spice, & whitemeate:	194li 9s 8d
Spent and laied at out at Bradward the	
whole yeare in rents, workmen, and all	
other duties:	48li 14s 3d
[deletion]	

Som totall dissbursed the whole yeare	
at Heryford & Bradward and every	
where, in all charges saving billding in Heriford	
and shute of law with William Harris of Bradward:	510li 9s 3d

1639

Aprill

1

New dissbursments begining at St Mary
Day 1639 untill this tyme twelvmont
following; written at John Fletchers howse in
Widmarsh Streete in Heryford, where I now dwell

2

Imprimis—paid the coocks wyfe, Whooper, for spin[i]ng	
Elyzabeth Actons gowne cloth, 7 light pownd:	3s 6d
For weving 6 yards for the same gowne:	2s
A paier of shuse for Elyzabeth Acton:	2s 2d

	Paid for cariage downe of my black Flaunders serge cote and kirtle in a canvas pack:	18d
rent	Paid James Ailway of the Moore, one yeares rent for a pasture by the White Cross, ending at Candlmas next, 1639:	6li 10s
rent	Paid John Fletcher 6 months rent for the howse I dwell in in Widdmarsh Streete, Heryford, due at St Mary Day, 1639:	3li
rent 3	Paid William Eysham, tanner, in Heryford, 6 months rent for a barne, stable and haylofts in Widmarsh Streete, due at St Mary Day, 1639:	20s
	Bought at Worcester by Mathias Rufford, 12 yards and 3 quarters of spanish cloth, 6 quarters brod & better, at 10s 8d a yeard:	6li 13s 6d
	For 2 elles of canvas to lappe hit in:	2s
a capon	Gave Mrs Danseys maid of Brinsop:	6d
a kid	Gave my Lady Baskerviles maid of Ersley:	6d
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—1s; & Elyzabeth Newton—4d:	16d
lynings for Bed- ford	For an elle of welch yearn cloth:	18d ob
	Paid Edward Munkland for making Thomas Bedfords livery cloth cloke and a shute I gave him:	12s
usse	Paid Elyzabeth Munkland 6 months usse	
paid	for 5li, which I owe them, due at St Mary Day, 1639:	4s
cristing	Gave the midwyfe & nurce at the cristening	
gift	of Mr Gravills sonne, Cristofer:	2s
	For a paier of shuse for my cosin Jane Gorton:	2s 3d
	For shuinge my mares and removing shuse:	2s 6d
14	Gave the poore in the Minster church:	4d
Ester	Gave at the comunion for my self:	6d
Day	Gave Elyzabeth Acton then—1s; & Megge Androse—4d:	16d

19li 2s 11d ob tru cast

1639	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 32
Aprill		
13	Gave the clarcks wyfe of Al Saints in Heriford, for dressing up my seate at church:	4d
19	Gave my cosin, cosin John [deletion] Hackluit, som tyme at Eaton:	5s
	For half a daies hedging and fencing abowte the corn in Weggnoll, 2 men:	8d
	More for dicing and fencing the same corn:	4d

Elyzabeth	Paid Powell the walker & dier for cullering	
Actons	& pressing 7 yeards of musk culler cloth	
gowne	for Elyzabeth Actons winter gowne:	8s 2d
	For cullering 8 yeards of bastard skarlet	
	for her riding shute & the pressing:	8s 8d
	For scowring 8 yeards of greene carpeting	
	and pressing the same carpit & coberd cloth:	2s 8d
rent	Paid the Widdow Beedlston 6 months usse	
24	rent for the howse next myne, due at St Mary Day,	
	1639:	20s
30	Paid Mr John Haggley, vickkr of Al Saints in	
	Heryford, for my offerings at Ester and for	
	teith of my gardins:	10s
poore of	Paid half a years usse for the maintainance	
Nene	of the poore of Nene Solers, due at Holirooday, 1639: ²⁰	8s
	Gave my ould cosin Blunts wyfe:	6d
	For 2 trisells for the end of the spitt:	6d
May	Inke—1d; gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys—10s:	10s 1d
1	Gave my cosin Phillips maid, brought chikins:	6d
4	Gave Joane Halle, brought chikins from Kintley:	1s
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—5s; & Mr Maiors	
	porter—4d:	5s 4d
Mellin	Sent to Mr Henry Mellin, maiore of Heriford:	10s
at the Law	Gave the waites at the maiors feast:	1s
Day	To John Bache for helpping with my coults to	
	Heriford:	8d
coache	Gave Francis Stock, Mr Church his carter, for	
mares	teachinge my 2 yong bay coache mares to draw:	3s 4d
12	Gave Mrs Mary Wallwin—1s; & Mrs Rogers—1s:	2s
starche	For 12 pownd of white starche:	4s
usse	Paid Anne Davies 6 months usse for	
	20li that I owe her, due Aprill 28, 1639:	16s
18	Paid Mr Mellins, the maier, for charidge [carriage] of	
	one loade of the ellme that I bought at Ailston:	20d
John	Paid John Heane for helpping to pille	
Heane	up powles & drawes in my new wood pile,	
	6 daies and 2 half daies in all:	4s ob
smith	Hugh H oges Watkins bill paid for shuing	
	and removinge my 3 mares:	3s 4d
	To Harry Meredith, smith, for mending the	
	iron of my coache boote and pinmes:	10d
22	For 2 papers of black pines:	6d

²⁰ Joyce borrowed £10 from the poor stock of Neen Sollars parish (see f. 35v), which was originally left to the poor there by her half-brother Humphrey Coningsby (see f. 59).

the charge of	Imprimis—for 3 [deletion] red skinnes & nailes of brass:	8s
my 4 new	For cotten & 300 of tacks:	14d
cheiers, vide	For 500 of buzshell nailes—10d; square tacks, 200—3d:	13s
2 of stamill	Blue & elow statute lace that lacked 2 yerd quarter: ²¹	5d
& 2 green	For 8 ounce of crule to make up the fringe:	2s 4d
cloth	For 8 elow ship skinnis at 8d a peece:	5s 4d
	For a yeard of powle davy to line the armes of	
	the 2 stamill cheiers:	1s
	Paid Rowland Androse for making up these	
	4 cheiers, 2 stamill & 2 greene:	5s

7li 13s 5d ob tru cast

1639	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 32v]
May		
26	For weaving 18 yards of oringe and elow frindge:	18d
	To Rowland Androse for making 2 frames	
wages	for these cheirs:	2s 8d
A D	Paid Anne Davice, my maide, half a yeares	
27	wagese, due at St Mary Day last, 1639:	20s
31	For cariage of 2 letters from London, gave the porter:	2d
June	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coachman, a quarters	
1	wages, due May the 6, 1639:	15s
wages	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to put in her purce:	5s
T B	Gave the poore at the Minster church:	4d
2	For mending Megge Androse shuse:	3d
Whitson day ²²		
wages	Paid Margret Daniell one yeare and halfs	
5	wages, which wilbe due the 17 of this June, 1639:	33s
M Daniell	Gave the poore at Mr Barralls howse:	4d
Mr Barals	Gave the midwife and nurce at the	
childe	cristening of Mr Barralls sonne called Brabazon:	2s
cristened	Gave my cosin Phillips man, brought a cake:	1s
5	Gave Sir Samuell Awbreys coche man,	
yong	for traini[n]g my 2 yonge bay mares to the coche:	5s
mares	Paid Mr Henry Poule of Leominster, recever	
	of the yong Duke of Buckinghams rents, half a	
	yeares rent for 15 akers of grainge land,	
	due at St Mary Day last, 1639:	5s

²¹ The phrase '2 yerd quarter' has been inserted over the line drawn to finish the entry.

²² This date refers to the money given to the poor at the Minster church.

Thomas Bedford	Paid Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, for buttons & all sorts of lynings & silk & fringe and tafitey to face Thomas Bedfords new cloth shute & cloake, which I gave him, & ribands, etc:	22s 3d
Elyzabeth Acton cloth gown	Paid Mr Meredith fo[r] 22 yards of fine sillver bone lace to dress her winter cloth gowne of liver culler; at 8 ounce & half quarter at 5s 8d an ounce:	46s 1d
	Sowing silk—1s; duple sarcnett, half elle—4s:	5s
	Fustian—19d; rone canvas—18d:	3s 1d
	Buckram—8d; callicow—10d; serge—>15<13d:	2s 9d
	Ribands—11d; bone & clasps—2d; tifany—3s 3d:	4s 4d
	1 yeard half quarter more of sillver bonelace:	2s 2d
	2 yeards of rownd silver twister to lace over her stominger—2s; on[e] yeard half of 3d riband—4d:	2s 4d
	3 quarters of black tifany for her heade:	16d
	For 3 yeards of fine blue silk riband for the knees of Thomas Bedfords hose:	18d
E Acton	A paier of wosted hose for Elyzabeth Acton:	4s
	For 3 ounce of red slived silk for tassels to my	
T B	3 red silk chamlet quishions:	2s
shute	More for baies, thrird & other things for Thomas Bedford:	5s 8d
Mr Harry Merediths bills paid	Gave Tom Aston, that browght stra[w]beries:	1s
5li 2s 6d	Gave Mr Miles Hackluit, when he brought me his fathers years rent, due June 9, 1639:	2s 6d
all clrered [cleared?]	Paid Sible Wattis for spining 5 pownd of woll for Elyzabeth Actons gowne—warp at	
Elyzabeth Actons gowne	2s 6d a stone—and 6 pownd for woof & a half:	5s 2d
	For weaving 10 yeards of cloth & 3 quarters for Elyzabeth Actons winter gowne:	3s
	Mending James Wattis shuse—2d; & Megges—3d:	5d

10li 5s 10d tru cast

1639	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 33
May		
wood	Paid Mr Richard Ravenhill for>6< bredths of vallett wood out of Half Wood, at 25s a bred[th]:	7li 10s
26	To Beedlston & Gough for lopping hit:	6s
	Paid them for making 3 duple dozen of draws:	15d
	Paid them more for making drawes:	5s
28	Againe paid them in full for making	
	29 dozen & 9 single drawes, at 5d the duple dozen:	11s 3d
at 28s	Paid Roger Williams of Hamton Stank for cariage of the 6 bredths of wood to Heriford,	
a bredth	at 28s a bredth:	8li 8s

	Gave his men for drawing up som of the wood out of the low vallye:	2s
wood in	Paid John Hoges for measuring the 6 bredths:	2s
all 17li	For a paier of gloves to give him:	10d
6s 4d	Paid John Hodges of Leominster, for cariing	
besides beare	over one cart loade of whete, 19 boshell,	
& som	and of pese, 11 boshell, at 3d a boshell:	7s 6d
tymes	Paid John Heane for 2 daies & a half in helping	
vittails	to carry in drawes to make the faggott pile:	17d ob
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to give the musick at	
at the play	Mr Alderns, at the play:	6d
	More to John Heane for cariing in faggotts:	19d
	For trecle to drench my coache mares:	2d
	Gave the prisoners at Bye Streete:	6d
	I gave William Rawlins, that brought [a] letter from the carier:	6d
grainge	Gave Mrs Rogers—6d; weeding 10 akers:	5s 6d
land, 5	Paid John of the Cott, for scowring the wattering	
whete &	place at the White Cross:	4d
5 of powlce	For bird lyme to catch ratts:	2d
June	Margit Daniell paid for 15 ells & a yeard	
20	of welche yearde cloth, at 17d an elle:	22s
wages	Paid Elyzabeth Hackluit half a years wages,	
E Hackluit	due at Midsomer, 1639:	30s
Elyzabeth	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to b[u]ly cloth & lace for gorgets	
Acton	at the faier and other things: ²³	30s
20	Gave John Craford, a Scott:	2s 6d
24	For cariing a letter to Mr Richard Stockwall:	2d
reperasion	Paid William Brainche & his felow church	
of the church	wardin, Edward Trahern, baker, toward the	
	reperation of of All Saints church in Heriford: ²⁴	4s
	Gave Phillip Aston the se[r]vitor:	1s
training	Paid John Trahern, my sowldier, for	
	4 daies trai[n]ing in Heryford:	6s 8d
	And 11s 8d I paid him the last winter	
27	for a trained sowldiers wages, at 20d a day:	11s 8d
clothes	For 5 daies in making my cosin Joane	
red cloth	Farley a petycoate & wast coate and her	
	2 daughters, Shusan & Elyzabeth, 2 wastcots,	
	and diet to Edward Munckland:	2s 6d

²³ Gorgets, or deep lace collars in the form of a cape, were popular between the 1630s and the 1660s; C. W. Cunnington and P. Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century*, third edition (London, 1972), 101. See also ff. 47, 52.

²⁴ William Branch and Edward Trahern noted this contribution from Joyce in their accounts for 1639. HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5).

	For black and red thrid to make them:	7d
29	Given Mrs Westfalings maid, brought cherries:	4d

23li 16s 7d tru cast²⁵

1639	Heryford disbursements	[f. 33v]
June		
29	For wooden platters & dishes & 2 bucket pailles:	15d
30	Given Mrs Letchmors 2 maids:	18d
July	For drenching & lolnding 4 sh swine:	10d
1	Paid for 3 stonne of fine white woolle at	
woolle	Heryford faier, at 17s a stonne:	51s
	For one stone of black woolle:	8s 6d
	For 13 yeards of red yeard broade cloth to cloth my cosin Joane Farrley & her 2 daughters & Margitt Androse, at 3s a yeard>6d< [deletion] les:	38s 6d
	For a bowle & a ladle—3d; for cap paper—1d:	4d
wages	Paid Mathias Rufford half a yeares wages,	
M Rufford	due at Midsomer, 1639:	40s
Iper	I sent over to my cosin John Jeffreys at Iper in Flanders, as a token of Gods blessing & myne:	50li
bookes	Paid for 2 bookes of Docktor Josephs>Halles< works, Bishop of Exitor: ²⁶	30s
pamflets	For 2 pamphilletts, one moorning verser upon Ben Jonsons death & of cantting: ²⁷	1s
	For a box to carie them down:	8d
30	I paid for cariage downe of these bokes:	22d
July	Paid the tynker for mending pannes and a posnet:	2s 4d
6	Gave a man that was shipwract in the West Indies, to bring him to his contrey, west Chester:	6d

²⁵ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £23 15s 11d.

²⁶ Joseph Hall was appointed to the see of Exeter in 1627. Joyce may have purchased some of his early works, perhaps *The works of Joseph Hall* [Works, tome I] (London, 1628) and *The contemplations upon the history of the New Testament*. The second tome (London, 1634). He later went on to publish several tracts on the state of the protestant church. In 1640 he defended the order of bishops and the church, vindicating the episcopacy and the liturgies in a pamphlet war with a number of puritan divines, although he was not always in agreement with William Laud. R. A. McCabe, 'Hall, Joseph (1574–1656)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11976>].

²⁷ The words 'of cantting' have been inserted over the line drawn to finish the entry. Ben Jonson, the renowned dramatist, died on 6 August, 1637. The Jonson book Joyce referred to may have been *Jonsonus virbius: or, The memories of Ben Johnson revived by the friends of the Muses* (London, 1638), or possibly J. Taylor, *A funerall elegie, in memory of the rare, famous, and admired poet, Mr Benjamin Jonson deceased* (London, 1637). The book on canting may be a reference to Thomas Dekker's *English Villanies six several times prest to death by the printers* (London, 1632) or the later edition, *English Villanies seven several times prest to death by the printers* (London, 1638).

8	Given my cosin Joane Farley at Heriford:	20s
my cosin	Gave Maude Prichets maid, Margit, when	
Farley	she was going away from her dame:	6d
9	Paid for 13 yeards of fustian:	13s
serge	Paid Mr Roger Seaburne for altering my	
gowne	new black Flanders serge gown that cam from	
	London, and was too litle in the bodies:	4s
	For half an elle of fustian to enlarde the staies:	8d
6s 5d	For silk tabee to line the smale [deletion] skirts:	15d
	Whalbone—2d; clasps—2d; canvas—2d:	6d
	For making Elyzabeth Acton a liver culler cloth	
	gowne, with shirts & half sleeves with silver	
	bonlace:	11s
	For half a thousand of white pinnes:	5d
gloves	For 2 paier of kid skinne gloves to send Mrs Awbrey:	2s 4d
	To Hugh Watkins for shuing & removing the mares:	2s 8d
	Paid the shipping money for my 15 akers of	
	graingne land by Leominster:	1s
cley cham-	To Adam Stefens, 1 day plaistering the cleychamber:	14d
ber	To his man, 2 daies in the same worke:	2s
11	To his boy, 2 daies—Tom Price:	16d
Munkland	Delive[re]d Edward Munkland, in part of 5li that	
15	was remaining in my hands of 10li I gave to his	
	we[d]ding:	20s
whoops	Paid John Simons, the cowper, for making	
made	75 dozen of ashen whoops, greate and smale,	
the ashe	at 6d a dozen, without diett:	37s 6d
my owne	For black & red thrid & a binding for my cosin	
	Joane Farleys red petycote that I gave her:	8d
by Mr	Paid Mr Thomas Seaburn, apotycary, for pills	
Harfords	and other phisick for Elyzabeth Acton:	9s 6d
cowncell,	For mending my coache wheele & for nailes:	9d
phision		

65li 8s tru cast²⁸

1639	Heryford dissbursements	[f.] 34
July		
	Gave John Lennis—4d; for wad[?] wicks—5d:	9d
	Mending Megge Androse shuse & given the poore:	6d
	For a cabidge nett—2d; to Perkins—2d:	4d


²⁸ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £65 8s 6d.

mowing	Paid for mowing the medow that I toke	
Cobnalls	of the Ladye Points, in all:	16s
medows	Paid to hay makers, beside my owne servants	
2 of them	and som neighbours that hellped me:	8s 2d
	Paid Smith of Ewe Withington, for cariing	
	2 waine loades of hay out of the Cobnalls	
	2 medows to my stables in Widmarsh Streete:	5s
27	Paid Mr Henry Mellin, maior of Heriford, for	
som 3li 1s 2d	carringe 12 loades of the same hay to Herifford	30s
besides vitt-	and for cariinge 9 cocks more of hay there:	1s
tals &	Gave Mr Maiars bailye for his paines:	1s
dring[drink?]	Gave Mr George Hills maid at the Assises:	6d
nion[9] days	Paid William Delahay for herbadge of the	
	pasture at Ailson for this yeare to com:	18s
29	Gave my cosin Joyse Burghill at Heriford:	5s
herbadge	Gave my goddaughter yonge Joyse Walsh:	10s
August	Paid the pewterer Lightfoote for a new brazen	
1	cock for my pewter sesstern:	16d
	To John Simons for bottoming a tub & whooping:	16d
	For new bottoming a mault sive & a sive:	5d
	Silk to border my greene stuff petycote:	3d
tile to	Packthrid—1d; for 2 waine load of tile:	8s
mend the	To Walle of Hollmer, for carrying the tile	
litle clay	to mend over the litle clay chamber:	3s
chamber	Paid John Baddam for tilinge the chamber	
	4 dayes and a half, at 1s a daye:	4s 6d
	To his sarvants in the same work:	5s 4d
	For hewing 2 loades of tile:	2s
	For 2 thousand of tile pinnes:	18d
	Paid Adam Stevens 4 daies in plaistering ther:	4s 8d
	To his man & boy in the same chamber:	6s 10d
26s	For 2 boshell of here [hair] for to make morter:	14d
& 2 loade	Half a boshell of gloves sise Lawne for Elyzabeth Acton:	5s 6d
of tile be-	For a quier of browne paper:	3d
for bought	More paid hay makers which shoud a bin	
	written above with the rest at the Cobnalls medow:	8s 4d
hay making	For watchinge one night at Widmarsh Gate:	4d
at Cobnalls	Paid for a new hatt for James Wattis:	2s 8d
so the totall	For whoopping vessells—1s; gave Mr Perles maid—3d:	15d
charge of [?]	For a paier of stockings for my self, greene:	9s
Cobnalls hay	For cariage of a letter to Mr John Edmunds to London:	2d
harvest ys	Given 2 poore woemen—3d; for a grynd stonne:	6d
3li 9s 6d	Given James Mearik, brought damsons from Homcastle:	1s
	For a new iron bitt for a shovel,	
	and for a new bitt for a fier shovel,	
	and for grid grinding an axe:	2s 6d

	Paid [blank] Bond and Mr Phillip Winston, mercer, for the whole yeares maintenaunce to the poore of All Saints parish in Heryford, to be due at St Mary Day next, 1640; all due to them:	8s
29	For a stocke for Margitt Androse wedding ruffe:	2d
	For 3 yeards and a quarter of elow riband for E Acton:	18d
31	Gave Richard Paine [deletion] of Tewxbery:	2s
	Gave William, Mr Phillip Traherns man:	6d

9li 0s 3d tru cast

1639	Heryford dissbursmunt	[f. 34v]
September		
4	Sent to Worsester, by my cosin John Walsh, to pay my cosin James Bridges, mercer, for 9 dozen & 7 yeards of mixt silk lace, red elow & red, to lace Elyzabeth Acton a riding shute of bastard scarlet, at 2s 4d a dozen:	22s 5d
	One ounce of silk to sow onne the lace:	2s
4	For 15 yeards of cobwell [cobweb] lawnde to make me ruffes, at 2s 4d a yeard:	35s
wage T Bedford	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coache man, a quarters wages, due August 6, 1639:	15s
5	Gave William Rawlins—4d; for cap paper—1d: Gave a strainge souldier with a blue fether in his hatt, that said he cam from Barrwick:	5d 2s
	To John Probin for glasinge a litle window in Elyzabeth Actons chamber, 7 foote at 4d ob a foote:	2s 7d
	Gave Elyzabeth Newton—4d; for rushes—4d:	8d
15	Gave Mrs Simons maid, brought aples:	4d
20	For a paier of whalbon bodies from London: 2 elles of canvas to lap them in:	11s 4s
	For cariage of them from London:	6d
20	Cariadge downe of a letter from Mr John Edmunds:	2d
27	For a straw sift to measure corne with: For shuing and removing my horses shuse:	8d 22d
	Paid for mowinge 4 akers of powlce of grainge land at 13d an aker; 3 akers at 18d the aker, the 4th aker at 15d the aker, the fift[h] aker John Bach mowed:	5s 9d
	Paid James Davies for turning and helping in with the powlce:	18d
	To Dracott, one day in cocking the grainge land powlce:	9d
October	For inck—2d; gave Mr Edward Wallwins maid & the porter—8d:	10d

	Paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at	
wages	Micklmas, 1639:	20s
1	I gave Mr Edward Wallwin:	2s
2	For a new hoggeshead to put [deletion] sider in:	8s
	Gave Mr James Newton for his paines in helping	
	me to 2 hogsheds of sider from Mardin:	1s
6	Gave my godsonne Harbert Westfaling of Wye Bridge:	1s
	Gave James Farley, my cosin Joane Farleys sonne:	2s 6d
7	For treble to drench my mares:	2d
8	For wier to ring my swine—2d; a paier of	
	specktales—6d:	8d
wages	Paid Anne Davies, my maid, 6 months wages,	
8	due at Micklmas, 1639:	20s
wages	Paid Elyzabeth Hackluit, my maid, a quarters	
8	wages, due at Micklmas, 1639:	15s
	For 4 yeards & quarter of silk & silver lace to binde	
	Elyzabeth Actons red tamma petycote:	2s 2d
	Baies to border it—2d; silk—3d; silk lace to binde	
	the top—4d:	9d
at the	For 3 thrumme mabs—20d; a paile & a mault sive—2s:	3s 8d
faier	2 wodden platters—5d; 2 bowles—3d; inke—1d:	9d
16	For a wodden candlstick—6d; blue thrid—5d:	11d
16	Gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys of Heriford:	10s
	To Alis Bullock for cullering 4 yeards of	
	flanills a bastard scarlet for an under petycote:	16d
	Gave James Mearick, brought preserves from Homcastle:	1s
	Gave Thomas Harris of Nene Sollers:	6d
my cosin	For a shuger loffe, weight 7lb 10 ounces, to send to	
lay in	Homcastle, at 21d a pownd:	12s 10d
17		

10li 11s 8d tru cast

1639

October

Heryford disbursements

[f.] 35

	For whopping my cosin Janes paile & other things:	15d
	For mending James Watis shuse—4d; a straw basket—5d:	9d
19	Gave my cosin William Conyngesby:	1s
usse	Paid Elizabeth Munkland 3 months usse for	
	5li of her stock, which I gave her, due July 15, 1639:	2s
20s Edward	And 3 months usse for 4li, due October 15, 1639,	
Muckland	which is to[o] much but I gave it her this one tyme:	2s
rece of the	Gave Goody Rods maid, brought a pigge:	4d
5li	Paid Mr William Russell for 5 marmilad boxes:	10d
	For an ounce of green wostid yearn:	6d

21	Gave Mr Harford, the phisision, when I was sik:	40s
	For 16 ells of yeard broad dowlas at Bristoll	
dowlas	faier at St James tide, at 2s 7d an elle:	41s 4d
	Gave Goody Rods maid, brought a pigge:	4d
24	Gave a cownterfett sowlidier, or a theeff rather:	4d
25	Gave Mr Mailards man, which brought oringes and lemons & a box of dried sweetmetes from Mr Paule, draper:	6d
Mr Maior	Sent to Mr James Barroll, maior of Heriford, at his Law Day:	10s
Mr Bailiff	Sent to Mr Edmund Steade, bailiff of Leominster:	10s
	For a litle straw basskit to cary out dust:	2d
	To Harry, the smith, for nailes for the coatch and mending locks & kaies:	20d
	For a paiar of spectacles for my self:	6d
wages	Paid John Batch for 12 weecks wages ending on the Sondag after Micklmas Day, 1639, 2s a weeck:	24s
	Sparrow bills for James Watis shuse:	2d
	Paid Edward Munkland for 4 daies in making James Watis a shute of cloth & diet: ²⁹	2s
cheeffe rent	Paid the kings bailyf for one yeares cheeffe rent for John Pritchets howse, due at Micklmas, 1639:	18d
	And for an aquittance for the same rent:	4d
	Paid for the boke of the lyfe of Mary, queene of Scotland, and her death untimely: ³⁰	2s
rent	Paid Mr Thomas Jenins, clarke, collector of the Lord Bushops rents, 6 months rent for my 15 akers of grainge land neare Leominster, due at Miklmas, 1639:	2s 6d
	To the ratcatcher at my new howse in Heriford:	1s
	Paid John Hodges for cariage of a loade of poulce out of the graindge feeld to Bradard barn: ³¹	18d
	Paid Robert Bond for cariadge of 2 waine loade of powlce out of the grainge feelde to Bradard:	3s
	And for cariage of a loade of corn out of Stockin Hill feeld:	2s
	Paid William Adams for cariadge of 2 loade of corn out of Wagnall feeld at 2s a loade, and for cariage of 4 loade & a half of powlce out of the Praing feeld:	11s
	Paid William Adams for plowing & sowinge the 5 akers of grainge land in Passey field, at 3s 6d an aker:	17s 6d

²⁹ The words '& diet' have been inserted over the line drawn to finish the entry.

³⁰ William Camden, *The historie of the life and death of Mary Stuart Queene of Scotland* (London, 1636).


³¹ The words 'to Bradard barn' have been inserted over the line drawn to finish the entry.

rye & whete to sow the grainge land	Paid William Adams for 7 boshells of rye, one boshell of whete to sow the 5 akers of grainge land, at 2s 8d a boshell:	21s 4d
	To Mr Brian Newton for putting buckles one [on] the [deletion] tassis of the armor of Bradard:	[blank]
	Paid for putting on a shue uppon the coach mare:	1d
	M Rufford spent at the funerall of my cosin Freeman at Nene Solers:	7d
	Paid at Heriford faier for a coverlett of red & greene wollin yearne:	20s
pewter	For 2 pewter candlesticks—4s 6d; 4 platters—10s 6d:	15s

11li 19s tru cast

1639	Heryford disbursement	[f. 35v]
November		
pewter flagon	For a new pewter flaggon:	4s 6d
	For chainging an ould pewter flaggon:	18d
2	For shuinge my coach mares rownd & the gray mare: ³²	3s 8d
	For a pair of shuse for James Wattis:	20d
wages T Bedford	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coachman, one quarters wages, due to him November 6, 1639:	15s
12	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to put in her purre:	1s
	Paid for 2 litle segge matts:	3d
usse	Paid Anne Davies, my maid, 6 months usse for 20li I owe her, due October 28, 1639:	16s
	Gave James Prichet, my button boy:	1s
	Gave my cosin Jeffreys boy, brought venison:	6d
	For a horn lanthorn for Elyzabeth Newton:	20d
	Gave Mrs Elynor Wallwin, when [she] cam to see me:	2s
12	Cariage of a letter to London to Mr Richard Nicholetts:	2d
13	Gave Richard Mason, my cosin Jeffreys man:	1s
	To Richard Casswall for pecking my mault mill:	4d
rent	Paid the Widow Beedleston of Bye Str St Owins	
14	Streete in Heryford, 6 months usse rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse rent, due at Miklmas, 1639:	20s
20	Paid Edward Munkland 2 daies demy & diet for work don:	15d
	Gave Docter Harfords man:	6d
Desember	Gave Whoopper the coocke when he hurt his legge:	6d
10	For mending the stable lanthorn:	6d
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—3s; and Anne Godsale—6d:	3s 6d
	Paid John Heane for one daies cuttinge wood:	6d
	Gave Mary Powell, widdow—6d; verdigrece—2d:	8d

³²The words '& the gray mare' have been inserted over the line drawn to finish the entry.

poore of Nene Sollers paid	I sent to my sister Freeman by Mr Edward Freeman of Tedston, 6 months usse maineainance for the poore of Nene Sollers, being the usse of 10li, due at All Saints, 1639:	8s
a peny	Paid for a soine peny at the Holimott at Ivington:	1d
	Paid a man that helpt to cary water:	6d
20	2 yeards of tawny riband for my girdle:	1s
	Gave Richard Sm Hills dawghter of Bodnam:	6d
	Gave my cosin Mary Russels maid, brought aples:	4d
	Gave Goody Goulding—1s; gave Mrs Mary Walwin—1s:	2s
	Gave James Mearick—1s; gave a blinde man—1d:	13d
	For a booke of the snake in the mans hart: ³³	6d
	For a new allminak—2d; gave Humfrey Rod—18d:	20d
	For holly against Cristmas—3d; filletting—3d:	6d
	For ferrett silk riband to binde my peticote:	7d
	Brown paper—3d; gave Richard Mason—1s:	15d
usse & paid in her 20li & made even	Paid Anne Davies 7 weecks usse for 20li, which I owed her, due on Cristmas Eve, 1639:	5s
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton at Cristmas, 1639:	10s
	I paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at Cristmas, 1639:	20s
30	Gave Mrs Byfords daughter of the Swanne (Sibill):	6d
	Gave the 2 beedles—8d; Dolle the baker—6d:	14d
	Paid Anne Davies for 10 yeards of bonlace to edge handkerchers for New Yeares gifts;	
January	som at 10d, som at 1s & som at 2s a yeard:	10s
1	Gave Goody Branches boy, Apperryley:	1s
	Gave my cosin Mall Russell—5s; & her maid—6d:	5s 6d
	Gave Anne Hill & Betty of the Tavern:	18d
1	Gave Richard Kingman and his wyfe:	1s
	Gave Roger, the bakers man, Rawlinse:	1s

7li 12s 4d tru cast

1639	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 36
January	Gave Humfrey Rod—1s; & my cosin Brownes man>of Bromyerd <—6d:	18d
	Gave Mr Thomas Pembers man—6d; & Philip Bakers ³⁴ man—6d:	1s

³³ This may have been a retelling of an old fable, but as yet I have not been able to identify it.

³⁴ 'Philip' appears written above what looks like 'Rbakers'. The entry surely refers to Philip Bakers man as the later entry (10 January) has been struck through.

5	Gave Mathias Rufford—2s 6d; & the Tavern maid—6d:	3s
7	Gave my goddawghter, Joyse Simons, brought	
purce	me a silk & silver purce of her owne making:	10s
	Gave the waites of Heriford:	2s 6d
10	Gave Mr Phillip Bakers man of Mardin	6d
11	Gave a poore man at ould Mrs Burghills request:	1s
	Gave ould Mrs Burghill herself:	1s
11	Gave Mr William Wanklins wyfe, of Leominster:	1s
12	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton:	6d
	For mending James Watis shuse & given him:	9d
13	To Phillip Cooock for dressing my bay coult:	18d
	For shuing the gray mare to goe to Kintley:	16d
	For shuing the bay coult—1s; [?] shues for the	
	mare—1s:	2s
	For 2 removes—2d; sent my cosin Elizabeth	
	Brown—10s:	10s 2d
Dick Harris	For 3 yeards & a quarter of medley cloth to make	
I gave it	William Harris sonne a shute, against he went	
him, 11s	to be a prentis in London to a felt maker, at 2s 8d	
just	a yeard:	8s 8d
	For canvas, linings, buttons, thrird & riband:	2s 4d
20	Gave the prisomers of Bisters Gate by M Ruford:	4d
[?] follow	To William Batche of Leom[in]ster, for plowing +5	
John Bache	5 akers of the grainge land for fallow:	15s
went a-	Paid John Batch for a quarters wages at Cristmas:	12s 6d
way	Paid him for 3 wicks [weeks] wages more:	3s
27	Paid for 3 yeards quarter of fine shagge bayes,	
Elyzabeth	scarlet culler, for Elyzabeth Actons under peticote,	
Actons under	2s 8d a yeard:	8s 8d
peticote	For silk binding—1s; riband & silk—4d:	[1s] 4d
27	Paid Elyzabeth Munkland a quarters wages, due	
wages	at Kandlmas, 1639:	6s
29	To Mr Roger Seaburn for making Elyzabeth Acton	
	a bastard scarlet safgard, cote & whood, laced	
	with red, blue & elow silk lace:	12s
31	And for making her a red baies under petycote:	6d
February	Paid Mr Adams, minester of Fellton, and Francis	
1	White, the Lady Points her baillyffe, half a yeares	
Cobnalls	rent for a pasture called the Cobnalls in Ewe	
rent	Withington, due on Kandlemas Eve, 1634:	7li
	Paid Phillip Coocke, Megge Androse husband, the	
10li he had	last paiement of 15li that I gave him with his	
at the mariag	wyfe in marriage—20s the other day & 4li now:	5li
1	Paid him for dressing my gray mares legges	
	and my 2 coat[c]he mares legges of the scrases:	5s
	Paid Mr Harry Meredith, by Elyzabeth Hackluit, &	
	crossed his boke for whalbon, thrird, silk, etc:	20d

	For a peece of tape for filletting:	2s 6d
	For 4 yeards 3 quarters of greene silk and silver ribanding:	4s 8d
	For fine white thrid—4d; gave my cosin Hary Browns>man< 1s:	[deletion]
phisick	Paid Philip Aston for phisick for Elyzabeth Hackluit:	3s 6d
	Bestowed uppon Margitt Androse, against her weding:- new shuse—2s 3d, greene silk binding lace for her new petycote & wastcote—3s: ³⁵	5s 3d
Margitt Androse wedding	one dozen of greene silk lace, to goe 3 tymes about her new red petycote:	2s 6d
	an elle of baies—14d; tape—1d; silk—2d:	18d
	one elle and a naile of lawnde for>her< ruff: ³⁶	7s
& diet	to Munkland for making her petycote & wastcote:	2s
	for a new felt hat & bugle band black:	7s
	linin cloth for her bodies—14d; bone & thrid—8d:	22d

19li 12s tru cast

1639	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 36v]
February		
1	For a paier of greene stockings for Megge:	2s 4d
	Gave her in her purce—2s 6d; a band for Philip—20d:	4s 2d
	An other paier of shuse for her:	2s 3d
	Whalbon againe—6d; to Munkland—15d:	21d
3	To Philip Cooock for triminge my coat[c]h mare:	10d
4	Gave Elyzabeth Acton when she went to Worcester:	20s
E Acton went to Worcester	Paid for a shugger loffe to send Mrs Coningesby of Hampton Court, 7 quarters & 1 ounce at 21d a lb & more a litle:	13s
	For 2 paier of gloves to send Mrs Phillip and Mrs Cissillia Conyngesbye, of a token:	2s 4d
	For 2 yeards of bonlace to edge a lawne hand- karcher for to send Mr Fitzwilliam Conyngesby:	2s 6d
millard	Paid Richard Casewalle for new setting my mault mill:	1s
7	Paid William Bowker for mending my chamber chimney and that at the staires heade:	1s
mason		
8	To William Baddam for putting up lathes in my kitchen:	6d

³⁵ '3s' has been written on the line drawn to finish the entry, and the total in the final column altered accordingly.

³⁶ Here 'a' has been crossed out and 'her' written above it. Ruffs were less fashionable after the 1620s, but were worn by the wives of officials and the elderly for some time after that; Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook*, 97–9. Joyce continued to wear ruffs and since she paid for ruffs for Elizabeth Goulding and Margaret Androse when they married, they may have still been popular on formal occasions.


11	Paid at at Worcester for a new litle bason:	15d
	Paid for my 2 horses meate at Wor when Elyzabeth Actton went thither, & for drinke for Mr Rufford & William Mearick, having their diet at my cosin Anne Bridges howse:	3s 6d
Mrs Richards- sons man	Gave Walter Harris for teachinge William Mearick to drive a coche:	5s
14	For half a naile yeard and a naile of cambrick to make handkerchers:	2s 8d
15	For botteming 2 sives and a mault sive:	10d
Shroff	Gave Mary Powell, widdow:	1s
Sonday	For browne paper—3d; sirop of coultsoote—3d: ³⁷	6d
16	Gave James Merick, brought 10 partridges:	1s
19	To Gody Baddam for helping to wash a bucking:	2d
by Docter Harfords cowncell	Paid a bill to Mr Thomas Seaburn, apoticary, for divers reseights when I was not well:	22s 6d
	Paid Mr Henry Meredith a bill for an elle of red & greene tafitey to face Elyzabeth Actons riding cote:	14s
	For serge to border—1s; for riband—3s:	4s
	For red calicow—8d; silk & classps—4d:	1s
	For a black silk tafitey whoode:	3s 6d
	Paid for mending my burdding peece:	5d
	For a sparrow nett—6d; for a halter for a hors—3d:	9d
26	Gave William Jones, that brought me 6 partridges and a tirky cock & a tirky henne, all alive, from my cosin Thomas Barnebye of Bromyeard:	18d
28	For a litle holand to make a stock for a band:	2d
Mr John Edmunds	I gave Mr John Edmunds of London, scrivener, for his paines in my busines at London:	10s
29		
March	Paid Anthony Aldridge and Mathew Weare	
3	for mending my killen with new bricks:	14d
bricks bought	Paid Trannter for 100 of bricks to mend the killen after he was sett on fier:	2s 6d
6	Gave ould Souche, the bonsetter:	6d
	Gave ould Alis Low of Bodenham:	3d
7	For cariage of a tirkey to Mr Richard Stockwall:	10d
	For washing a bucking—2d; gave my godson Westfaling—1s:	14d
8	Paid Jauncye, the gardiner, 2 daies & diet:	1s

6li 12s 10d tru cast

³⁷Syrup of coltsfoot was good for problems with the lungs—'want of voyce, difficulty of breathing, coughs, hoarsness'. Royal College of Physicians, *A Physicall Directory, or, A Translation of the London Dispensatory made by the Colledge of Physicians in London*, by N. Culpeper (1649), 107. Also note the purchase of elecampane roots below, f. 37v.

1639	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 37
March		
10	For an elle of > baies< canvas to > face< stiffen the cape of Thomas Harris new livery cloake: ³⁸	3s
	Half a yeard of buckram for the same:	7d
	For a dozen & a half of grete silk buttons:	9d
	Half an ounce of sowing silk—1s; a neck button—9d:	21d
Tho Harris new livery cloake; the cloth was bought the last yeare	Paid Edward Munkland 2 daies & better in making this cloake and diett:	14d
	Paid Anthony Aldridge & his felow and his man one daies work in mending my furnes:	2s 8d
	Paid for 2 grete stones for the bottom:	18d
	Item—for bricks for the same work:	10d
	Paid John Lewes for 12 paier of gloves:	14s
	For new knitting my thrid gloves:	6d
	For washing a bucking—2d; gave my cosin Walshes maid—6d:	8d
19	Gave Goodwyfe Kingman at the Assises:	1s
21	Gave prisoners of Bisters Gate when Mr Sheriffe,	
Asises	Thomas Aldern, brought the judges out of Heriford at Lent Assises—4d; gave Mr Thomas Pembers boy—4d:	8d
Anne Bedford	Gave Anne Bedford at her churchinge:	1s
	Gave my cosen Jane Gorton to giver Anne Bedford:	6d
23	Gave Tippings sonne of Nene, brought a letter:	6d
26	Gave ould Souche—6d; cloth for a wallet—14d:	20d
Elyza Acton when she went to Worcester	For a yeard of fine tiffany, yeard broad, for her neck:	5s
	For 3 nailes of fine lawne for her:	14d
	For a paier of fine whalbon bodies for her:	4s 8d
	For a yeard of hearculler ferritt riband for my self:	2d
	Paid Phillip Cooch for dressing my gray mare, when she had paine in her legges>&< a boshell of rye &: [sic]	2s 6d
	A paier of shuse for James Watis—2s; thrid—2s 3d:	4s 3d
	For 26 yeards of cowrce tape for filets:	15d
	I paid for cariage of spice and lawne & other things from Worcester to Heriford—forgot till now—a yeare agon:	1s
	Paid the sadler for worke donne abowt the coache:	3s 6d
	For a brush to scrape the horses:	1s
	Paid Hugh Gittos, a church wardin, for an ass[ess]ment for the 15 akers of grainge land, towards the reprasions of Leominster church:	10d
	Paid Roger Dewell, sadler, for mending saddles, etc:	5s
	Mr Rufford spent at Mordiford when he bought wood:	6d

³⁸ The word 'baies' has been written above 'canvas' and 'face' above 'stiffen'.

	Spent in my howse in Heryford the whole yeare past, ending one St Mary Eve, 1639, in corn, mault, flesh, fish, wine, sugger, spice and whitmeate:	147li 0 3d ob 10d
25[?] spining paid in woll ³⁹ 205li 8s 9d ob from the top	20 yeards of fine inkle for hearlaces & galoone Dyssburced at Bradward the whole yeare 1639, in rents and all duties to the church & the king, hedging, ditching, plowing, harvest work, etc:	55li 4s 11d
	Som totall dissbursed the wholle yeare at Herifford and Bradward, ending on St Mary Eve, 1639:	397li 3s 8d ob
1640 Aprill 1	New dissbursments begininge at St Mary Day, 1640, untill this tyme twelve month following; written at John Fletchers howse in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford, where I dwelle.	[f. 37v]
rent	Imprimis—paid John Fletcher half a years rent for the howse I dwell in in Widmarsh Streete, due at St Mary Day, 1640:	3li
rent	Paid William Eysham, tanner, half a years rent for his 5 baies of billding, due at Annunciation, 1640:	20s
rent	Paid the Widdow Beedlstonne, 6 months rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at Annunciation, 1640:	20s
wages	Paid Elyzabeth Hackluit her St Mary Day quartes wages, due at St Mary Day, 1640:	15s
wages	Paid Mr Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at St Mary Day, 1640:	20s
 wages	Paid Anne Davies half a yeares wages, due at St Mary Day, 1640:	20s
usse	Paid Edward Munklands wyfe half a yeares usse for 4li stock, which I gave her, due at Annunciation, 1640:	3s 3d
	Gave Mr Miles Hackluit when he went to the warres against Scotland: ⁴⁰	2s 6d
3	I gave my cosin Jane & Megge Cook:	10d

³⁹ The 'spinning paid in woll' has been written in a browner ink and is badly smudged.

⁴⁰ Herefordshire county was called on to provide troops to fight against the Scots. In February 1638/9 the king announced that he was intent on travelling to Scotland to suppress the disorder there and demanded that 150 men be selected from the trained bands and brought to York, or another named place, at the cost of the county. Further levies were demanded the year after, so that by June 11, 1640 300 men had been impressed. Page, ed., *Victoria County History of Herefordshire*, I, 386

Antwarp & 40s my cosin Will Jeffrey sent her	I returned over to my sister Sible Warrin as a token from me, by Mr William Wallwin: Given Mrs Mary Wallwin, widdow: Gave Goody Rod when she went to London: Gave the waites of Heriford at Ester: For 6 yeads of elow ferrit riband: To the cowper—1d; gave my cosin Jane Gorton—3d: For a blak stonne pott to draw beare in: For 6 elles & 3 quarters of hurden cloth: Gave Mr Caleb Moore to drinke: Paid Mr John Haggley, our vicker of All Saints parish, for the offerings of me & my famelly: ⁴¹ Given James Mearick, brought a salmon: Gave Mr Roger Herifords boy, brought pigions: For 3 new pailles—4s; for 12 elles of welsh yearn- cloth for sheetes, at 16d an elle, to Goody Lowe—16s 6d; which with the 3 pailles makes in all: Paid Jauncy the gardiner for 2 daies work & diett: For knitting a paier of white thrid mittins: For 2 dozen of thridden pointes: Gave Grace Arnald—2d; for elicompane rootes—2d: ⁴² Gave Wat Roades sonne, brought a leter from Mrs Conyngesby: Browne paper & packthrid—4d; gave a blinde harper—6d: Paid a bill to Mr Henry Meredith, for linings & stiffening with thrid & buttons for James Wattis cloth shute, made befor Cristmas last: Mathias Rufford & Thomas Harris expences and my 2 horses, when they fetched Elyzabeth Acton from Worsester: Paid Hary, the smith, for new irons for the boshell: For mending the buckett & kayes, staples and locks: Gave litle Mary Russell when she went to the bathe: ⁴³	3li 6d 2s 6d 18d 2s 3d 4d 2d 8s 6d 1s 10s 1s 4d 20s 6d 1s 1s 5d 4d 3d 10d 6s 3s 9d 20d 2s 2d 6d
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14li 8s 1d tru cast

⁴¹ See fn 225 in the Introduction regarding church offerings, and f. 25, fn2.

⁴² Elecampane was said to be good for the chest and lungs, and its roots could be steeped in wine. T. Elyot, *The Castle of Health, Corrected, and in some places Augmented* (1610), 22; T. Coghan, *The Haven of Health*, fourth edition (1636).

⁴³ Although some towns and cities had their own baths, no reference to a bath in Hereford has as yet been found. Baths or hot houses were more commonly associated with health than hygiene in the Tudor and Stuart periods: 'for the pokes, scurffe, scabbes, hemerodes piles'; W Bullein, *The Government of Health* (1595), 22. However, a satirical broadsheet of 1600 depicts women eating and drinking in one part of a bath before moving into the other part naked. The bath room appears most

1640	Heriford dissbursements	[f.] 38
May		
	Paid John Heene for cariing in of drawes:	3s
20	Paid 2 carpinders for setting up my mault mill:	2s 4d
23	Gave Mr [sic] Mary Walwin & Mrs Rogers, widowes:	1s
Whitson Eve	I sent Mr Edward Trahern, the Lord	
25	Lord [sic] Bushops baily, of a present: ⁴⁴	5s Gould
26	Given the clarks wyfe for dressing up my seate at Alholand church in Heriford:	4d
wages	Paid Sible Wattis a quarters wages, due May 3, 1640:	5s
	Pinnes—10d; riband & buttons—2d:	1s
	A yeard of calicow for Bes Munklan:	22d
	White pinnes more—10d; spining 2lb hurds more—14d:	2s
29	Paid Edward Munkland 3 daies work & diet in work abowt my blak new chamlet cote & tawny chamlet>cote<:	18d
30	Gave my sister Adams maid, brought a pigge:	4d
31	Gave Mary Powell, widdow, brought oringes:	6d
sould my	Gave Mr Rufford when he sould my>grai< mare to	
faier gray	Mrs Thomas, widdow, in Heriford:	3s
mare to Mrs	Paid my cosin James Bridges of Worcester,	
Rachell	for 12 yeards of cobweb lawnde at 2s 6d a yeard:	28s
Thomas	Paid for dressing a blak bever hatt:	2s
widdow		
June	Paid for 2 wheeles to putt one my 2 wheele barows:	1s
1	Rosen—1d; for spining 4 pownd of hemp & 1d: ⁴⁵	3s 4d
	Paid her for spining 4 stonne demy of hemp hurds at 7d a pownd, for napkins:	19s 3d
wood the	Paid Mr Roger Heriford of Suffton, for 4 bredes	
first	of vallet woode, at 28s a brede:	5li 12s

like a modern sauna. See *Tittle-Tattle; Or, the several Branches of Gossiping* (1600), cited in P. A. Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, 2003), 58–9. Elizabeth Pepys once went to a public hothouse, or Turkish bath, but Pepys himself only took a bath for health reasons, in the spa waters at Bath; Latham and Matthews, eds., *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 10, 103. Joyce could have meant the baths at Bath. The city of Bath was already well-known for its waters, and after the visit of Queen Elizabeth to the spa in 1574, many contemporaries talked of ‘going to the Baths’. P. Hembry, *The English Spa 1560–1815* (London, 1990), 29. This was still the case in the later seventeenth century, when Elizabeth Freke mentioned attending ‘the Bath’ on several occasions. R. A. Anselment, ed., *The Remembrances of Elizabeth Freke, 1671–1714*, Camden Fifth Series, 18, (Cambridge, 2001), 73, 74, 77. The ninth edition of Thomas Vickery’s *The English-man’s Treasure* (1641) included William Turner’s tract, ‘Of the Bath of Bathe, in England’, ‘gathered and set forth for the Benefit and Cure of the Poorer sort of people, who are not able to goe to the Physitians by William Bremer’. See also f. 49.

⁴⁴The phrase ‘of a present’ has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

⁴⁵The ‘1d’ has been added above the line drawn to finish the entry.

	Paid Goodman Hollines of Suffton, for cariage of 4 breds of vallet wood from Suffton to Herifford:	4li
	For loping those 4 breds of wood:	4s
	For making 18 dozen & 21 drawes, at 5d a dozen, and for making 10 bundles of offal wood:	7s 11d
	Paid John Hodges for measuring one brede of vallett wood in Half Wood:	4d
	For lopping the 1 bredth of wood in Half Wood:	1s
	For making 4 dozen & 20 drawes there at 5d a dozen: ⁴⁶	2s
	For cariage of one bredth of wood from Half Wood:	26s
	Item—paid for the bredth of woode ther:	25s
wages the first	Paid Joane Powell of Brecknock, my maid, half a yeares wages, due 4 or 5 weeckes befor St Mary Day:	11s
7	Paid a man for 3 yong thrastles:	6d
Mr William Russell	Paid Mr William Russell, Elyzabeth Hackluits husband, in part of 100li of her porsion which her father gave her & put hit over to me to pay:	60li
	I paid him for one months usse of the whole	
7	100li, due June the 9, 1640:	13s 4d
8	Gave Mrs Alderns maid, braught 6 ducks and 2 greene geese from her:	6d
9	Paid Jawncy, the gardiner, one day & diet:	6d
Edward George	Sent Mary George of Cutston, by her husband:	1s
10	To Katern Corbitt for a dozen pownd of white starche:	4s
15	Gave Elyzabeth Acton, when she rece 48s of Mr Thomas Weaver:	1s
paid the pore of All Saints parish	Paid towards the releeffe of the poore—6 months—to be due at Micklmas next, 1640:	4s
	For a new wheele for the other wheele barow:	6d
16	Paid Mrs Kingman for spining a ston of hemp:	5s
hempe	A litle buckett paile—4d; spiggets & faucets—1d:	5d
19	Gave my cosin Philips man, brought 2 geese & cher[r]i[e]s:	1s
20		

79li 1s 6d tru cast⁴⁷

1640	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 38v]
June		
20	Gave Mrs Astons maid—6d; & Mrs Kingman—6d:	1s
22	Paid for 31 elles and a half of welsh yearne	
Heryford faier	& the teare toghather spunne, at 22d an elle:	57s 9d

⁴⁶The phrase 'at 5d a dozen' has been written under the line drawn to finish the entry.⁴⁷The figures for this folio as given above actually total £79 0s 11d.

usse	Paid Mrs Elyzabeth Hackluit, alias Russell, 6 months usse for 100li, which her father turned over to me to pay her for the porsion he gave her:	4li
22	Gave Elyzabeth Acton at Heriford faier:	10s
the faier	Gave Joyse Walsh the younger, my god daughter, then:	2s 6d
	Gave a man that had the dawncing hors:	1s
	Gave the musisians the same tyme:	6d
woll	For 16 wax pownd of woll, at 10d a pownd:	13s 4d
2 cover-	For 2 woollin coverlets, red & greene, the	
letts	one at 16s, the other at 9s the other :	25s
lawnd	Paid for 8 yeards of lawnd, which my cosin	
at 7s 3d	Jeffreys bought for me at London in June, 1640:	58s
the yeard	And for 4 elles of holand, at 5s the yeard:	1li
holand		
at 5s the ell.	Gave my cosin Phillips of the Heathe:	10s
Charles	Gave my cosin Joyse Burghill—5s; & her son—1s:	6s
Burghill	Gave yong parson Luce his widdow, at Heriford:	20s
30 ⁴⁸	To the cowper—4d; for mending a brass panne—16d:	20d
July	Gave a sowlcier that rescued my coatch mare	
1	from the pownd & toke her from David Bowins man:	4d
2	Fresh fish—2d; gave my god dawghter, Joyse	
	Walshe the elder—I sent hit by her daughter to Mr Oster:	5 1/2 s
3	I gave my god daughter, Joyse Walsh the yonger, then:	10s
	Gave Mr Alixander Whittington, brought cheries:	6d
4	To Jauncy, the gardiner, for one day & diet:	6d
9	Paid Mr William Russelle, confectianary, in full	
Mr William	payment of one hundred pownds, beinge the	
Russell	portion which Mr Thomas Hackluet of Kintley gave	
all paid	his daughter Elyzabeth Hackluit in mariage	
	to Mr William Russell; the other 60li he rece before:	40li
9	More paid him for one months usse for the 40li:	5s 4d
10	Gave my cosin William Coningesby, when he	
this day the	went to Scottland to the warres:	1s
traine	Gave John Lincoln that went with Captaine Button:	6d
sowlldiers	Gave 3 sowlldiers of the same company to drink:	4d
went toward	Gave Richard Mason, that brought home my Oxford	
Scotland	leace and the rest of my Bradward writings	
10	that weare at London, at the hearing of my	
Friday	cawse for the title of Bradward:	1s
10	Bought by Mr William Russell as foloweth:-	
London	for 5000 of white pinnes at 10d a thowsand:	4s 2d
pinnes	for 2000 of short white pinnes at 9d a thowsand:	18d
	for a paier of brass skales & waights:	5s
London	for a smothing steele without irons:	3s 1d

⁴⁸ This date refers to the entry re Parson Luce's widow.

	for a paier of specktakles & a black case:	8d
	for a spanish lether skinme black for my shuse:	5s
16	Gave James Rods maid, brought 12 partridges & a henne:	6d
	For 2 mabbs to wash the howse:	1s
18	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to pay for lawne, tifany & knotts:	10s
	2 matts for 2 truckl beds—14d; brown paper—6d:	20d
Mondai	Gave the poore at the Minster church at the Assises:	4d
20	Gave Margit Lewes of the Cott, that brought 3 yong	
20	thrastles and the ould henne thrastle:	4d
20	Gave the maide at yong Edwinse, the mercer, at the Assises:	6d

58li 5s tru cast

1640	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 39
July		
22	Paid to Mr George Browne, 6 months rent due	
Cobnalls	to the Lady Grissell Points, widdow, for 2 pastures	
rent	at Ewe Withington called the Cobnalls, to be	
	paid at Lamas, 1640; I paid aforehand:	7li
smith of the	Paid the smith in the Broad Streete, for shuing	
Brod Streete	my 2 coach mares & the letle [little] gray mare:	3s 4d
from this place		
see what he	Paid for 8 yards demy of a dark medley cloth to make	
hath a yeare	William Mearick & litle James Wattis a shute apeece,	
26	at 3s 10d a yeard, cam to:	32s 6d
for William	For silk & buttons and riband, clasps, loope lace, etc:	7s 4d
and Tom	The like I paid for James Wattis for his shute:	3s 6d
Haris	Paid Edward Munkland for making the 3 shuttes:	13s 6d
herbadge	Paid William Delahay for the whole yeares herbadge	
	of the 3 pastures at Ailston, for the yeare to com:	18s
	Paid John Heane & his wyfe for makinge hay at	
	Aylestonne, he at 7d and she at 6d the day:	7s 10d
	I paid a man for 2 daies making hay there:	10d
	Paid the smith in the Broad Streete his half yeares	
	wages upon composision for shuing my	
	2 coache mares, ending June 23, 1640:	10s
	For 5 new shuse for 5 new shuse for the gray	
	mare, due J[u]ne 23, 1640, & 1 l removes:	2s 7d
	For stuffe to dress the grete mares foote, stubbed:	5d
29	For treacle to drench the 2 coache mares:	5d

Elyza Acton went to Worcester.	Went to Worster to cristen her sister Anne Bridges dawghter called Elizabeth; I gave her in her purce: 20s Thomas Harris spent in beare & gave the chamberlaine & ostler at Mrs Staples howse & given the poore at Bromyeard by her apointment>Elizabeth Actons<: ⁴⁹ 11d Given to my cosin Mishell Conn[ingesby?] sonne that cam from London and my cosin William Conn[ingesby?] sonne that cam from London: 18d
Tom Haris died at my cosin Bridges one night	For paid for 4 quier of browne paper, 6d & 4d: 10d For a twiggen cage for a thrastle: 18d
August	For a paier of lambe skin gloves: 6d
3	For a waine load of charecoles: 19s & to a boy that piled them up in my barn: 2d To the whooper—3d; given my cosin Jeffreys man—1s: 15d Given to Harry, baily of Withinton, brought, 3 cheeces from Worsester—6d—from my cosin Anne Bridges: 6d
12	Gave my godsonne & grawnd nephew, Henry Jeffreys: 5s
this day	My cosen Jeffreys with his wyfe & sonne Henry went from Heriford to Homcastle. 5s
12	
18	Give Robert Coningesby the son of my cosin William Conyngesby, brought a pott of preserved cherries from my cosin Anne Bridges of Worsester: 1s
this Robert is prentis to a perfumer in Mark Lane at the Goulden Tunne	Gave Ned Harris the bedlam man: 1d Paid for 5 dozen of silk buttons for Meirik & Haris shutes—2s 6d; other linings—8s 4d: 10s 10d
plowing forgott till now	To John Bache for plowing & sowing the 5 akers of grainge land, at 3s 6d an aker: 17s 6d Paid Robert Bond for cariing 2 loades of corne out of Stocking Hill & out of Weggnall & cariing 2 loade of powlce out of the grainge feelde: 6s 10d
17 Mondai shipping money 3li	Paid Mr James Barroll, maier of Heriford, in full payment of the shipping money for this yeare 1640, for my hows & gardins in Heriford: ⁵⁰ 3li

19li 7s 8d tru cast

⁴⁹ 'Elizabeth Actons' has been inserted above the line drawn to finish the entry.

⁵⁰ The phrase 'for my hows & gardins in Heriford' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

1640	Heriford dissbursments	[f. 39v]
August		
20	Gave Mrs Rogers—1s; & paid the gardiner—1s:	2s
26	Gave Joane, my maid, to drink at market:	2d
	Gave Mrs Mary Wallwin, widdow:	1s
	My cosin Jane had for Samuell Parsons:	2d
	For 2 irons to put in the new smothing steelle[?]:	10d
31	Gave Goodwyfe Uffington, the keepers wyfe of	
	Erdisley Park, brought ven[i]sson from thence:	2s
31	Gave Elinor Winde towards her boies shuse:	6d
	Gave the dogge coock for making a pasty:	9d
September	To Goody Cowcomb for carving 4 cocks:	4d
1	Gave an ould woman I mett in the Port feeld:	4d
3	To the gardiner for half a daies work:	3d
7	Given Megge, a dawncer—1d; 4 ounces wostid—15d:	16d
	For a pipin to put cowcombers in:	4d
training	Paid John Trahern, my sowldier, for 7 daies	
a sowldier	training under Captaine Th Richard Wiggmor:	11s 8d
at 20d a	Paid Michael Hearing for weaving 15 yards of black	
day	& white wollin yearne for apernnes to give my maids:	20d
8 ⁵¹	For a litle boke of asstrolagye called Arcandam: ⁵²	6d
10	For 4 earthen potts to putt purslane in:	13d
	For mending the gutter over the litle cley chamber:	4s 2d
14	To Harry, the smith, for mending a saw & a sithe	
	and iron pinnes for a wheelbarow, & mending 2 pikevells:	16d
15	For 2 paier of shuse for Elyzabeth Acton:	4s 4d
16	For a paier of shuse for my cosin Jane Gorton:	3s 4d
Anne Rod	Given Anne Brainch at her wedding to Humfrey Rod:	5s
14 day	Given Tippings sonne of Nene that brought word	
my sister	of the death of my deare sister Katherin Freeman,	
died	widdow, of Nene Sollers. She died onne Monday	
18	2 a clock after noone and was buried on	
my sister	Friday folowing, September 18, 1640; a saint in heven:	6d
was bured	Paid a watchman for watching at Widmarsh Gate:	4d
19 ⁵³	Gave Mrs Rogers—6d; for incle, 20 yards, &	
	galoone—10d:	16d
from Mrs	Given ould Lovell of the Pallish, brought 24 quinces:	4d
Shusanna	To the chymney sweeper for 3 chimneys sweeping:	7d
Wingfeeld		
30 ⁵⁴	Sent to Mr Maior, Edmund Aston at his first feast:	10s

⁵¹ This date refers to the entry re John Trahern.

⁵² Richard Roussat, *The most excellent profitable, and pleasant, booke of the famous doctor, and expert astrologian, Arcandam* (London, 1637).

⁵³ This date refers to the entry re the watchman.


⁵⁴ The date here refers to the entry re old Lovell.

October	Paid for a black cow that was my good sister	
6	Freemans at her death; my cosin John Walsh sould her:	53s 4d
a cow	Gave a madwoman—3d; mending James Watis	
Heryford	shuse—2d:	5d
faier	For a mault sive—1s; a bucket paille—3d; egges —1d	15d
9	Given Mr Peter Nash his sonne in law:	1s
10	For a litle tynne dripping panne:	1s
cheeffe	Paid Mr James Patshall, recever for the cannens of	
rent.	Heriford Collidge, one yeards cheeff rent, due to	
posnett	them at Micklmas, 1640, for John Prichets howse:	2s
10	Weight 9lb demye at 10d 9d a pownde, a posnet bought: ⁵⁵	7s
wages	Paid Sible Watis a quarters wages, due at	
& an apern	Micklmas, 1640:	5s
of blak &	Paid Anne Pavier a quarters wages, due then,	
white woll	and anne [an] aperne of blak & white woll:	5s
wages	Paid Thomas Haris, in part of 40s wages	
wood	due about Alholandtide, 1640,	
I paid 25s	& 25s he had before:	6s
to John	I deliverd my cosin John Walsh, to pay for	
Hodges	the cullering of my cosin Elyzabeth Harburns stamill,	
again.	5 yeards, which I gave her, & for lace to hit:	10s
the 5 yeards	Paid a fellow that brought black stuff for 2 gownes	
of cloth	for me & Elyzabeth Acton from my cosin James Bridges:	2s 6d
cost me	Paid John Heane—6d; paid Edward Munkland—1s:	18d
20s		

7li 12s 2d tru cast

1640	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 40
October		
12	Paid Mr Harry Lingen of Sutton, 2 yeares rent	
rent for	for James Dudsons 24 akers of tiladge in	
Dudson	Sutton, morgaged to me & forfeited, due at Micklmas,	
	1640:	20s
12	Paid Mr Roger Bodenham of Rotheras, 6 months	
rent for	rent for William Eishams howse in Widmarsh	
Will Eisham	Streete, due at Miklmas, 1640:	20s
12	Given a blinde man that went whith a dogge & a bell:	1d
14	Given John of the Cott for cariing letters to Worsester:	4d
rent	Paid John Fletcher half a yeares rent for the	
3li	howse I dwell in without Widmarsh Gate, due at Miklmas,	
	1640:	3li

⁵⁵The phrase 'a posnet bought' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

16	Gave my cosin Thomas Burghill, that brought and gave me 2 glasses of hott water:	2s 6d
17	For 2 thrumme mabbs to wash the floores:	1s
spinni[n]g woll	Paid Maud Prichet for spining 4 stonne of wolle for curtaines, at 4s 6d a stonne:	18s
22	More for spining 3 wax pownd of woll:	3s
cheeffe rent	Paid Mr George Lea, collector of the kings rents, cheeff rent for John Prichetts howse, due at	
22	Micklmas, 1640:	18d
	And to Mr George for an aquittance:	4d
	Paid the smith in the Broad Streete for 7 shuse for the grete coache mare:	3s 6d
	4 removes & 2d [in] nailes for the same mare:	8d
	4 new shuse for the gray mare:	16d
	2 removes & 1d in nailes for the same mare:	3d
24	Paid Edward Parsons for 2 daies making the rick at Cobnalls:	16d
	Given Elizabeth Acton to put in her purse:	1s
26	I>gave< Mr Thomas Pembers man, brought 6 partridges:	6d
James Dudsons rent due at Mikl- mas 1640	To Johny, the tinker, for mending pannes:	5s
	Paid to Mr Henry Lingen of Sutton, esquier, 2 yeares rent for James Dud[s]ons land of Sutton, due at Micklmas, 1640 & should be repaid it bak:	20s
 26	Paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at Miklmas, 1640:	20s
wages	Paid Anne Davies half a years wages, due then:	20s
26	For an elle of black tifyny to weare on my armes: ⁵⁶	2s 3d
	For 2 black silk riband pointes for my band:	4d
27	For a paper of smalle black pinnes, [?] pinnes:	2d
	For 2 quiers of browne paper:	6d
27	For black whood, of love, for Elyzabeth Acton:	2s 6d
	For a paier of greene twiggin potts:	2s 6d
29	Given Mrs Greene-lye, a pore woeman:	4d
November	Gaves James Prichett, the button boy:	1s
1	Paid John Lewes, glover, for 3 ship skinnies:	2s
6	Paid Mr Mathias Rufford 6 months usse for 10li, which he lent me to b[ul]y a yeock of oxen for Bradward at Holirood Day last, 1640:	8s
usse the 2 oxen cost 11li 7s	Paid him also>over< that the oxen cost, beinge 11[?]li 7d:	27s
6	For mending the mault 6d mill—6d:	6d
	Gave Blainche Miles, my maide of Bradward:	6d

⁵⁶ Joyce was in mourning for her half-sister, Katherine Freeman, who died on 18 September, 1640. She may have worn black armbands until her mourning gown was ready the following year.

wages	Paid her a quarters wages when she went away:	5s 6d
Blainche	Given Mrs Rogers—1s; given blinde Tom Burghill—4d:	16d
Miles	For mending the mouth of an axe:	1s
14	For 2 elles of hurden for litle James his frock:	2s 3d
phiseck	Paid Mr Docter Harford for his cowncell	
16	in phissik for my self:	3li
	For mending my greate silver tankard:	18d
coache	For work donne to the new coache wheele:	2s 4d
wheele	Paid Richard Freeman for a new coache fore wheele:	10s


16li 11s 10d tru cast

1640	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 40v]
November		
16	Gave William Adams sonne, of Pewne, brought aples:	6d
	For packthrid—1d; heare culler silk—5d:	6d
17	Given James Mearick, brought preserves:	1s
22d	For 2 paier of shuse for James Wattis:	4s 2d
& 2s 4d	One at For a lether cruppier for the packsadle:	6d
	Given a Yorksher poore manne & his lame wyfe:	2d
20	For [deletion] washing—2d; gave an other lame man—2d:	4d
cristening	Gave Mrs Tomkins, the midwyfe, at the cristening	
22	of Thomas Hosey his sonne, called John:	1s
24	Gave James Mearick, brought a fesant & woodcocks:	6d
	Paid for 4 new shuse & 4 removes for the greate mare:	2s 6d
	For 3 shuse & 3 removes for the litle coache mare:	22d
	4 shuse & 2 removes for the gray mare:	18d
24	For 3 new shuse for John Pritchetts nagge:	1s
	Paid John Crowsnest for cariage of tile	
	from Phillip Wallis quarrill:	18d
	Paid Wallis for the loade of tile:	4s
	Paid John Crowsnest for cariadge of hay from	
	his barne at Mr Wilkinnes to my stable:	3s 4d
26	Given Alis Low, widdow, of Bodnam:	3d
	Gave Mrs Byfords carter when he drawed in the	
	stable muck:	4d
26	Gave Frank Roper that helped to unloade the muck:	3d
27	For bottoming 3 mault sives—1s; whooping—3d:	15d
	Gave my cosin Charles Phillips man, brought ven[i]son:	[deletion]1s
28	Paid Edward Munckland for 9 daies & half making	
	my cosin Jane Gortons greene petycote & wastcoate,	
	and other work donne for me & Elyzabeth Acton:	4s 9d & diet
hurden	Paid for 7 elles of hurden clothe for horscloths:	7s 7d
horscloths	Paid John Bardam for hewing a loade of tile:	1s

28	Paid Joane Powell, my maid, half a yeares wages,	
wages	due November 20, 1640:	11s
	Gave the poore at the Minster—4d:	4d
Desember	Paid John Badam for 3 daies tileing over they	
3	clay chamber—3s; to his man 2 dayes demy—2s 1d:	5s 1d
tilinge	For pinnies to sett on the tile, 500—5d; nailes—2d:	7d
wever	Paid Michael Hearing for weaving 24 yeards	
5	of wollin clothe for curtaines & a coverlet, 2d a yeard:	4s
	For 2 yeards & a quarter of 2s 6d:	2s 6d
6	Given Ned Harris the bedlam-me:	1d
7	Gave Mrs Elynor Wallwin & her sonne Charles:	18d
	Nailes for the tiler [tiles?] over the clay chamber:	2d
10	Paid Mr Phillip Aston, apotycarier, for phissick	
phissick	stuff for my self by Dockter Harfords cownsell:	14s 8d
	For 2 elles of cambrick for New Years gift handkerchers:	15s
a tub	Paid Richard Simons, cowper, of Bodenham, for a tubbe:	3s
11	For 8 yeards of bone lace to edge handkerchers:	7s 6d
a howse.	Bought of Elyzabeth Golding, spincter, one howse &	
she had in	gardin lying in Widmarsh Streete without the gate, cost:	25li
hand 40s	16 day—gave Lewes Hunt to help bury his wyfe:	2s 6d
& my bond	For a new alminack for the year 1641:	2d
for the rest		
12	To William Delahay for 20 thraves of wheate straw—8d:	12s 8d
straw	To Mr Lawrance, the cownceler, for drawing and	
8d a	ingrossing the conveyance of a howse & gardin in	
thrave	Widmarsh Streete in Heryford without the gate, that	
	I bought of Bes Gold[ing]:	15s
coache	Paid Thomas Clark, the barber, for new painting my	
painted	coach wheele:	3[s 6d?]
	For one day ditching at Ailston—7d; for pomatom—3d:	10d
21	Paid Mr Thomas Jenings of Leominster, minester, half	
	a yeares rent for the teith of 15 akers of grainge land, due	
	to the Lord Bushop of Gloster at Micklmas, 1640:	2s 6d
21	Gave a poore man that keepes the dogges out of the	
	church:	4d
	To Edward Parsons for mending the ckichin [kitchen?]	
	chymney:	4d

32li 4s tru cast

1640	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 41
Desember		
25	Gave the poore at the Minster on Cristmas Day:	4d
	Gave the waites of Heryford—3s; to the 2 beedles—8d:	3s 8d

28	Gave Harry Wier, sexton of the Minster church:	1s
31	Gave Ruell & his fellow fidler, John a Tomas:	6d
	For 2 paier of sweete gloves for Mrs Phillip & Mrs Cissilya Conyngesby: ⁵⁷	2s 2d
January	Gave Bes, John Rawlins the bakers maid:	6d
1	Gave a boy that did sing like a black byrd:	3d
2	Gave William Davies of Hampton that brought my anuety:	1s
anuety	Gave Mr Peter Nash, his sonne in law, that brought a very fatt goose & 2 fatt ducks:	1s
2	Gave litle Higgins the yong butchard:	6d
	Gave Roger the bakers man—1s; & to Doll—6d:	18d
	Gave my godsonne, litle Harbert Westfaling:	1s
6	Gave Thomas, my cosin Henry Browns man, that brought a sugger loffe from his mistress:	1s
6	Sent my neece Elyzabeth Browne by him:	15s gold
wages	Paid William Meirick, my coachman, one yeares wages, due Desember 6, 1640:	40s
Will Merick	Gave Mrs Rogers—6d; & Mary Powell—6d:	1s
the first	To Harry, the smithe, for mending 2 chafingdishes:	18d
yeare	& for mending the long iron to put before the broache:	6d
8	For mending a greate coach bridle:	6d
11	Gave Anne Hill of the Tavern, to her wedding:	2s 6d
12	Paid for a twiggen pitche[r] to put in the bruing vate:	10d
 wages	Paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at Cristmas, 1640:	20s
13	Paid for a quarter of a yeard of holand to stocke a ruffe:	8d
16	Gave William Bache of Leominster when he paid me 20s, the last payment for his pasture at Bradward:	1s
	Thomas Harris spent, when he went to Hassfeeld to bring my cosin Henry Brown word that his man Thomas was sick:	1s 4d
	Paid the same Thomas Harris, that he laid out when he went to Nene after my good sister Freeman died:	1s
tailer	Paid Edward Munckland for making Elyzabeth Acton a fustian wastcote & a day befor making a horscloth,	1s[?] &
smith	2 days:	diet
for shu- ing horses	Paid the smith of the Broad Streete for new shuing & removing my horses shuse:	5s 6d
18	For a yeard of greene ferrit riband to hange my kaies:	2d

⁵⁷ Gloves of many kinds were popular accessories in the seventeenth century, including those that were perfumed, and some women's domestic receipt books gave instructions on how to do this. See for example the collection of medical receipts by Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh, c. 1675–c. 1710, WLHM MS 1340. See also f. 46v.

	Paid Mr Thomas Eaton for 2 ounce of hard wax:	1s
my cosin	Gave my cosin Anne Nott, the yonger, at Heriford:	5s gold
Anne Nott	Also I paid for her 2 horses meate at Mrs Bifords:	4s 6d
was heare.	Gave Mr Hackley, our minester of Alholands parish,	
Mr John	for a gratuety for preching in the sabbath afternoone:	10s
Haggley	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton to b[u]y her a cup:	6d
paid	To the cowper—2d; for washing—4d; broomes—4d:	10d
21 ⁵⁸	For mending my greate saw to saw billets:	6d
E Acton	For 2 yeards demy for E Actons wastcote & inkle:	2s 8d
	For a thrumb mabb—5d; for removing 2 apricots	
	trees—2d:	7d
	For cariage of a cart loade of rye from Bradward to	
	Heriford, to John Hodgis 2 yeare agonne, forgott till now:	10s
	For cap paper—1d; wax—1d; a paier of gloves—14d:	16d
phisick	Paid Mr Dockter Harford for his cowncell, when	
	I was sick the last springe:	12li
a gray	Gave his manne, William Binner:	2s
mare	Paid John Boraston of Clifton for a gray mare;	
	she was bought the 23 of May last & forgott till now:	5li 13s
	For silk for Edward Munkland to sow:	3d
February	Paid Francis White of Felton, bailliff to the Lady	
3	Pointes, widdow, half a yeares rent for pasture grownd	
rent paid	at Ewe Withington called the Cobnalls, due at	
for Cob-	Candlmas, 1640:	7li
nalls	To William Spencer for cariinge 3 cart loade of boords	
elme boords	from Ailston:	6s
6	Paid [blank] Haiwood, tailer, half a yeares maintainance	
poore paid	to the poore of the parish of All Saints in Heriford,	
in full	which will be due at Ester next:	4s
	The other half yeare I paid at Micklmas last.	

32li 9s 1d tru cast⁵⁹

1640	Heryford dissbursements	[f. 41v]
February		
taby gown	Paid my cosin James Brigese of Worcester,	
for Elya	for 5 yeards $\frac{3}{8}$ at 13s a yeard, cost:	3li 10s
Acton	For 3 dozen of flatt black silk buttons:	2s 6d
9d a yeard	Black open silk flowred lace to dresse downe	
	the open sleeve with the buttons, 12 yeards:	9s
	Black sowing silk—18d; ferrit riband—10d:	2s 4d

⁵⁸ The date here refers to the entry re Mr Hackley or Haggley.⁵⁹ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £32 18s 3d.

	Roane canvas, half an elle—1s; black galoone—6d:	18d
	Cullered buckram, 3 quarters 10d 3 quarters:	10d
	White callicow, a yeard demy—3s; a busk—4d:	3s 4d
	Blak callicow—10d; whalbon & clasps—6d:	16d
3 quarters	Black riche tafitey to line skirts & face sleeves:	9s
Tho[?]	Black serge, a quarter: 10d	10d
to tailer	For making this gowne of blak silk tabee:	9s
of Worster.	Paid him more for watted tafetey and	
price in	altering her petycote blue tafetey skirts:	5s
all 5li	Item—for 13 yeards of black italiano, to make	
9s 8d	Elyzabeth Acton a gowne to moorne for my deare sister	
	Freeman, at 3s a yeard:	39s
	Canvas—1s; and buckram—8d; dimitye, 1 yeard	
	demy—20d:	3s 4d
	Fine callicow, demy yeard—11d; silk—1s:	23d
	Whalbon—6d; black sarcnet, demy yeard—[deletion] 3s:	3s 6d
	Black serge, demy elle—18d; blak riband—2s 10d:	4s 4d
	A rowle—18d; a busk—4d; galoone lace—3d:	2s 1d
Thomas	Paid Thomas Tailer, a tailer in Worcester, for the making,	
Tailer	being a crosse bodied gowne and a peticote:	8s[?]
in alle	Paid my cosin James Bridges for 13 yeards quarter	
3li 2s 2d	of shuper [super] fine bllack Flaunders italiano serge	
my blak	to make me a moorninge gowne & petycote	
gowne	for my good sister Freeman, at 3s 4d the yeard:	3li 4s 2d
& petycote	Which was too litle, so that I sent to Worcester	
	for 7 yeards & a half more of the same stuffe,	
	at 3s 4d a yeard, cam to:	25s
	Bought of Mr Hary Meredith, mercer, in Heriford	
	for my gowne & petycote:-	
	silk, half an ounce:	1s
	1 yeard of serge blak to face the shirts & bosom:	2s 6d
	2 yeards of fine black say—4s 8d; sackcloth—2s:	6s 8d
	cullered buckram, half elle—9d; bonne & clasps—4d:	13d
	blak 6d riband, 2 yeards demy—15d; silk buttons—2d:	17d
	sowing silk more—7d; loope lace & 4 buttons—2d—	
	to goe down the open sleeve of the armes:	9d
	more for 1 yeard demy of blak feritt silk riband:	6d
som of my	Paid Mr Roger Seaburn of Heriford, tailer, for	
gowne &	making my moorning gowne & petycote:	8s
blak peticote	For making Elyzabeth Acton the bodies and stominger	
5li 11s [?]d.	of her silk tabeene gowne, wastcote fashion:	3s 6d
these gownes	Paid John Poonne Joane his wyfe, for 3 daies	
were made	tining at Ailston at 8d a day:	2s
October 20	Paid for >2< candlesticks made of tinne:	[deletion] 11d
1640		

Mrs Phillip Baskerville	I sent Mrs Phillip Baskerville, by Mrs Elyzabeth Unsell: 10s
	Packthrid—1d; to Richard Jauncy for 2 daies in my gardin: 1s & diet[?]
14	Gave Jonathann Simons for being my valentine: 6d
	Paid Phillip Aston, apotecarie, for sirops when I had a could—3s; for scowring 23 yards of flanills—22d: 4s 10d
	For a paier of russet shuse for James Wattis: 2s 4d
	Paid James Davies for picking turfes of 3 of the accers of grainge land by Leominster—18d; and for scowring the watter cowrse of that 5 akers neare Chorlstreet—1s: 2s 6d
	For more packthrid—1d; to Richard Jauncy on[e] day—6d: 7d
19	Gave my cosin Harberd Jeffreys of Herifford: 10s[?]
Bristoll	For a fine white rugg bought at Bristoll faier: ⁶⁰ 20s
	1 pownd of powder blue: 1s

17li 7s 2d tru cast⁶¹

1640	Heryford dissbursements	[f.] 42
February	Bought of Mr Henry Meredith, after he cam from Bristoll faier:-	
	8 elles>quarter< of holand at 3s 10d the ell:	31s 7d
	for 2 yards & quarter of holand at the same price:	7s 4d
	3 elles off fine dowlas at 3s 3d the elle:	9s 9d
	12 elles more of yeard broad dowlas at 3s 3d an elle:	39s
E Acton	one paier of whalbone bodies for Elyzabeth Acton:	4s 10d
	for 6 wax pownd of flax hurds to spin, 4d ob a lb:	2s 3d
22	To Mr Mellins man for plowinge forrow in Ailston:	4d
28	Gave Mrs Gillberts litle boy, broug[ht] 2 leecks wrought with greene silk and sillver:	1s
reparation of the church Marche	Paid Edward Trahern, baker, and John Chamberlaine, butchers, one years toward the reprasions of All Saints church in Heriford, for the whole yeare past: ⁶²	6s

⁶⁰Four fairs have been recorded for Bristol: three by charter at Pentecost [seventh Sunday after Easter], the Feast of St Laurence [10 August] and the Translation of St Edward [20 June]; and one by prescription at Michaelmas [29 September]. Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>.[Bristol] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006). Harrison, however, notes that fairs were held on 25 January and 25 March. See W. Harrison, *The Description of England*, ed. Edelen, G. (New York, 1968; reprint with new preface, Toronto, 1994), 392.

⁶¹The figures for this folio as given above actually total £17 7s 1d.

⁶²Edward Trahern and Richard Chamberlayne noted this contribution from Joyce in their accounts for 1640. HAS BC63/1, All Saints' Parish, Hereford, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1619–1664(5).

Elyza Acton	12 yards of fine inckle strings for	
had of the	E Actons>4< aperns:	6d
above writen	Paid Richard Jawncy for 3 daies in the gardin in	
linn cloth, 4	sowing in ett [it?] garritt & other seedes:	18d & diet
aperns	Gave James Merrick, brought a salemon:	1s
& 1 smocke	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton to goe to Margits Harpers	
worth 30s 5d	uppsitting—6d; sent Mrs Rogers—1s:	18d
March	Paid Powell the walker for scowring and	
10	dressing 10 yards of blanketting, cottened:	20d
Elyz Acton	Paid him for collering 4 yards of flanill to	
	make Elyzabeth Acton an under petycote [?]:	2s
13	Gave Mr William Normans maids:	1s
Assises	Gave my cosin Brownes man of Bromyeard,	
	brought a tirky:	6d
	Paid for a boke called Litle Witt[Will?]: ⁶³	3d
	For inke and soft wax—2d; paid [for] more inke—1d:	3d
	Paid Hugh Wattkins for 8>shuse< removes for the mares:	4s
	For 6 removes for them—9d; 4 shuse for the>mare< nagge	
	and 4 removes—20d; 4 removes for the nagge—4d:	2s 9d
	For an iron eare for the well bucket at the new howse:	3d
London	I gave Mr John Edmunds of London, scrivener,	
Mr John	for his paines in my London busines:	20s
Edmunds	Gave Bes Kingman at the Assises:	6d
16	Gave Mrs Ha[r?]pers boy and girrle of Bye Streete:	6d
at the Asises	Gave a maid [of] Mr Edwins howse, haberdasher:	6d
	Given the prisoners at Bysters Gate: ⁶⁴	4d
	For a head staule & raines—16d; a sadle cloth—2s:	3s 4d
22	For 4 paier of girth buckles:	4d
	For plating the sadle that M Rufford rod on:	6d
	For mending the mares harnes; lining hit with a low baies:	2s
	For a paier of shuse for James Wattis:	2s
23	Paid William Mearick, my coache manne, a quarters	
wages	wages, when he went from my service:	12s 6d
William	I gave him to drinke beside:	2s
Mearick	The cowper, John Simons, for whooping>had<: ⁶⁵	9d
went away	Gave Mrs Geercees maid, brought pigins:	4d
29	Gave the poore at the Minster church:	4d

⁶³ This may be a reference to *Little Witts protestation to defend popery*, written by J.G., gent., if an earlier edition appeared but has not survived—the Wing catalogue suggests a publication date of 1642. Or, since Joyce appears to have enjoyed history, could it have been a reference to Robert Albott's text, *Wits Theater of the little World* (1599), 'a collection of the flowers of antiquities and histories'?

⁶⁴ Byster's or Bye Street Gate had been the city gaol since at least the sixteenth century. R. Shoesmith and R. Crosskey, 'Go to Gaol. . . in Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 48, Part I (1994), 101.

⁶⁵ The word 'had' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

gossiping	Gave Ellner Thomkins, the midwife, at Mr Dockter Harford, when his wyfe lay in of a sonne:	1s
	Gave the 2 maids in the howse:	1s
the last yeare	Paid John Heane for carr[y]ing in wood to the pile:	20d
when new	For 3 daies mowing at Ailston—2 men:	6s
wood cam	To Edward Parsons for helping to mow the hay	
home	that cam of John Crowesnestes barne:	6d
August	Gave the mowes in earnest for mowing in Ailston:	6d
mowing	Paid them for mowing Ailston & Cobnalls:	16s
Ailston &	Paid Heane & his wyfe & others for	
Cobnalls	hay making at Ailston & Cobnalls:	14s 7d
in July	For reping & binding 5 akers of graing	
1640	land, the last harvest, 1640, forgott till now:	11s 8d
forgot till	Paid William Bache for twyfoling and three	
now &	foling my 5 akers of grainge land,	
this	at 3s the aker:	30s

12li 8s 1d tru cast

1640	Heriford dissbursments	[f. 42v]
September		
poulce	For mowing the 5 akers of grainge land being a pulce:	5s
October	For 7 elles and a yeard of hurden cloth at 18d an ell:	11s 6d
cheeff	Paid the cheeff rent for the graing land:	5s
rent	For an aquittance—3d:	3d
17	To John Crowsnest for cariage of a load	
November	of tile from Wallis quarre[y] and hay:	4s 10d
22	Paid Phillip Wallis for that load of tile:	4s
Desember	Paid William Joyner for sq[u]aring 5 tunne	
9	& 8 foote of tymber, wherof 3 tunne & a half	
som was	was of the elme at Ailston & the other was of	[deletion]
ellmme	the tymber in the streete from Dinmor, and sawinge	
	at 1s a tunne:	5s 6d
	For wier to ring my swine—1d; an allminack—2d:	3d
	To William Delahay for 20 thrave of straw:	12s 8d
1640	Although these dissbursments from the 29 of March	
March	were not written hitherto, [deletion] the cawse was, for	
	that by reson of my sicknes all the last yeare, these	
	bills were not written in my boke till now; yet they must	
last	end the>last of< March and then the yeare must end	
	for all.	
	Spent in my howse in Heryford the whole	
	yeare past, ending on St Mary Eve, 1640,	
	in corn, mault, flesh, fish, wine,	
	shugger, spice, and whitmeate:	147li 19s 6d

	Dissbursed at Bradward the whole yeare abowt, ending on St Mary Eve, 1640, in cattell to begin againe to stock the farme, implements of husbandry, seede to sow and servants wages & diett:	132li 3s 8d ob
282li 14s 2d this side		

Som totall dissbursed the whole yeare past, endinge on St Mary Eve, 1640, at Heriford & Bradward & all places ellse:	572li 8s 9d ob
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1641 **New dissbursments at Heriford, begininge**
Aprill **at Heriford at St Mary Day, 1641, untill**
 this tyme twelvmonth folowing; written
 at John Fletchers howse in Widmarsh Streete
 in Heriford, where I now dwelle to Gods pleasure.

1	Imprimis—I paid my cosin John Walsh out of the rent of Bruckend pastures, for half a yeares diet for my neece Mary Ansleys diet for 6 months, ending abowte St Mary Day, 1641:	4li
Mary Ansley		
rent	Paid John Fletcher half a yeares rent for the howse I dwell in in Widmarsh Streete, due at Annunciation, 1641:	3li
	For a quarter of packthrid—4d; bludding my 2 mares—4d:	8d
	A shue for the gray mare—3d; powder & shott—3d:	6d
10	To Jauncye the gardiner, 3 daies making a knott:	18d & diet
	To him 2 daies more in Bes Gouldings gardin:	1s & diet
18	Gave Mr Caleb Moore when he brought 6li to me:	1s
Elyza	Gave my neece, Elyzabeth Harborn, at Heriford:	20s
Harborn	I paid for 3 horse meat at Mrs Byfords, for her husband, her owne hors & Mr John Edwards that cam with them:	8s 4d
	For 3 elles of hurden cloth—3s 3d; trenchers—4d:	3s 7d

8li 16s 7d tru cast⁶⁶

1641	New dissbursments at Heryford 1641	[f.] 43
Aprill		
20	Paid Bes Goulding the first quarters wages, at Holirood Day, 1641:	5s
wages		

⁶⁶The figures for this folio as given above actually total £8 16s 9d.

usse	Paid her a quarters usse for 22li 10s, due 3 May next:	9s
stock	Paid her in part of her 23li stock:	10s
so I owe	I sent Anne Hosey when she lay in childe bed:	2s
her now	For washing 2 dayes—4d; for rushes—3d:	7d
22li 10s at	Given to a poore man & woman Ester Eve:	4d
Holirooday	Gave the waites at Heriford, Ester Tewsdays:	18d
next	Gave the poore at the Minster church:	4d
27	Gave Mr Peter Nashes sonne in law, brought a whelp:	1s
28	Gave Noddy for dancing—1d; & Mrs Danseies maide—6d:	[deletion] 7d
shuse	Paid for a paier of shuse for my self:	3s
29	I gave Daniell Baddam, the shumakers man:	3d
a faier shute	Paid Mr Henry Meredith for 5 yeards & halfe	
cloake of	of fine mingled spanish cloth for Mathias Ruffords	
spanish cloth	shute and cloke, which I gave him, at 18s 6d a yeard:	5li 1s 9d
I gave Math	One yeard half of strong, fine canvas:	18d
Rufford	2 dozen of large coate buttons gould & silver:	7s 4d
	4 dozen of gould & sillver Parris buttons:	4s
	1 ounce half quarter of silk—2s 3d; buckram—3d:	2s 6d
	2 dozen of silk riband points edged with sillver & gould bonne lace—14s; 4 yeards of galoone lace—1s:	15s
	2 yeards half of fine bare million:	2s 11d
	3 nailes of a yeard of tafitey to face hands:	2s
	1 neck button and loope—10d; 2 bellipeeces—4d:	14d
som of the	Classps, 1 dozen—3d; pocketts—1s:	15d
shute 7li 8s 5d	Paid Mr Roger Seaburn of Heriford for makinge Mathias Ruffords cloth shute—6s; and for making his cloake—3s:	9s
William	Paid William Joiner a bill, 5 daies work at the new	
Joiner	pale at Gouldings gardin, at 14d a day:	5s 10d
	Paid his 2 men 9 daies both of them:	9s
May	For 2 elles of cours hurden cloth for an ashe cloth: ⁶⁷	2s
1	Paid Mr Bodenhamms stuard half a years rent due to him	
rent	for William Eyshamms howse, due at St Mary Day, 1641:	20s
paid 20s	Gave James Wattis when he went to Homcastle:	2d
for my cosin	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton at the comunion:	6d
Walsh his rent		
2 he paid	Paid Hary the smith for putting on a clip of iron	
me againe	upon the coach wheele:	6d
4	Gave Mrs Rogers—1s; paid 2 subsidies at 3li land—24s:	25s
subsedie—	Paid 2 sawiers for 3 daies sawing pale for Goulding gardin:	
the maier of	For 2 weecks dicing & tininge at Ailston	
Heriford, Mr	and making holes to putt the posts of the pales in,	
Edm Ashton	at 18d a day—2 men:	18s
rece hit	Paid William Joiner & his 2 men 3 daies setting	
	up pales in my owne new gardin, he 14d, they 1s a peece:	9s 6d

⁶⁷The words 'for an ashe cloth' have been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

	To the sawyers, 5 daies at 23d a day sawing pales:	9s 7d
	To William Delahay for straw:	2s
	To the sawiers for 7 daies sawing postes for the paler:	13s 5d
	Paid the smith in the Broad Streete for shuing:	4s 6d
	For hinges to hang the pale dore in Goulding gardin:	10d
	More paid William Joiner & his 2 men for 6 daies at Goulding gardin & my upper gardin:	19s
last this	To Beedlston & his fellow for 2 daies ditching &	
yeare	tining at Ailston, the last this yeare:	3s
wages	Paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages due at Anunciation, 1641:	20s
grainge	To William Bache for plowing 5 akers of grainge land:	15s
land	More to the sawyers, 4 daies sawing palles at 22d a day:	7s 4d
Mr Haggley	Paid Mr John Haggley, vicker of All Saints church,	
the clark	for my offerings and my servants at Ester, 1641:	10s
	Paid Simon Reece, the parish clark, at Ester:	8d
	Paid Richard Jawncey for 8 daies digging the gardin banks:	4s
rent	Paid Goodwife Beedlston half a years rent for my	
14	cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at [deletion] Anunciation, 1641:	20s

20li 7s 4d tru cast

1641	Heriford disbursements	[f. 43v]
May		
14	Imprimis—for 6 yeards of tyfany at 2s a yeard, 3d les:	11s 9d
	To the washing woman—8d; gave Mary Powell—6d:	14d
	Paid Maud Pritchett for spinning woolle for flannels and a paier of blanckits:	16s
hurden	Paid for 14 elles of hurden cloth at 15d an elle:	17s 6d
the maior	Sent to Mr Edmund Aston, maior of Heriford,	
17	at his Law Day in May, 1641:	10s
wages	Paid Joane Powell, my maid, half a yeares	
Joane	wages, due May 20, 1641:	11s
	Paid Johnny the tynker—22d; given Mrs Elinor Walwins maid—4d:	2s 2d
hurden	Paid for 7 ells & a yeard of hurden & a yeard < at	
cloth	14d an elle:	8s 9d
	Paid John Morris, laborer, for 3 daies ridding away the rubbish in Maud Pritchetts fould & diet:	1s
	Gave Bes Munkland—4d; shuse for E Acton—2s 2d:	2s 6d
wages	Paid Thomas Harris the rest of his yeares wages,	
Thomas	due February 3, 1640,	
Harris, after	in the presence of Mr Mathew Rufford:	6s
50s a	Paid him on[e] quarters wages upon an auggmentation	
yeare	of wages, due the 3th of May, 1641:	12s 6d

20	For a lether for the mault mill—2d; a cord—1d:	3d
23	Given to the poore—3d; for a paier of gardin sheres—2s 10d:	3s 1d
wages	Paid Anne Davies, my maid, half a yeares wages, due to her at St Mary Day, 1641:	20s
	Paid for a pewter tankard and 12 pewter spoones:	3s
	Cariage of a letter to Mr Richard Stockwall to London:	2d
subsedý	Paid Mr Prichet, collector for the 2 last subsedies, for accepting a sertificate to shew I paid my>2< subsedies in Heriford to the maior there:	1s
subsedý	Paid Mr Richard Evance, alderman of Heriford, two subsedies more granted to the kings majesties in Parliament:	24s
	Anne Davies wedding gowne, which I gave her; she was maried to Joshua Ailwey on Whitson Thursday, 1641:- Imprimis—paid Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, in Herifford, for 12 yards of fine black silk mohere at 5s a yeard:	3li
	for 17 yards of fine black silk bonne lace to dresse her gowne, at 4s 8d a dozen:	6s 4d
	black sowing silke—1s; roane canvas, half yeard & [a] naile—11d:	23d
	blak sowing silke more, 1 dram—1d ob; short clasps—2d:	3d ob
	jeines fustian fustian [sic]—18d; feritt riband—9d:	2s 3d
I paid	whalbon & a busk—8d; black tafety>satin< riband—4d:	1s
of this bill	half elle of carnasion callicow in graine:	19d
3li 17s 6d,	a quarter & half of black tafetey to face sleeve hands:	3s 8d
the rest	a quarter & half of buckram—6d; serge to border—22d:	2s 4d
abated	For a dozen pownd of white starch:	4s
10	For 2 mabbes to wash the howse—1s; cowper—1s:	2s
against	Given to ould Mrs Burghills 2 maids, brought salmon:	7d
Whitson-	Given to her self that brought me wine:	5s
tide	Paid Rowland Androse, joiner, for making me a new ovalle table and a long table for my new howse parler, and I fownd all the tymber, ashe & oke:	16s
11	I gave his sonne & his man that brought them home:	8d
tables	Paid ould Baker and Adam Steefens 6 daies work in washing the kittchin walles and mending the chamber fiores & the cockloft, Adam, 14d & Baker, 11d a day:	12s 6d
ould	Gave the poore at the Minster church:	4d
howse	Gave Wier the sexton there:	1s
13	Gave the man that keepes the dogges out of All Saints church:	3d
Whittson		
day		
13		

13li 13s 6d ob tru cast

1641	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 44
June		
Will Preece baptised	Gave the midwyfe & nurce at the cristenynge of Mr William [deletion] Preece, mercer, his sonne William:	2s
15	Paid William Merick, my coachman, a quarters wages when he went away out of my service:	10s
	Paid him for mending my coche wheel:	4s 4d
	For mending a bridle—3d—to Hary the smith:	3d
	For mending locks and kayse abowt the howse:	9d
against	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to b[u]ly gloves & ribands:	10s
Whitsontide	Gave Mrs Kingman and Alis Bullock:	1s
poore of Nene Solers	I sent to Mr Pitts of Millson, by Joane Halle of [?], for the poore of Nene Solers [for] the half yeare, at Holirooday, 1641. ⁶⁸	8s
paid		
18	Paid Anne Davies alias Ailwey her quarters wages due at Midsomer, 1641—the last she had:	10s
21	For 9 yards of red cloth at 2s 6d—abate 6d—in all:	22s
at the faier	For 10 yards of course white flannills at 9d ob a yeard:	8s 3d
red cloth	For 2 rakes—8d; gave Joyse Simons at the faier—1s:	20d
rakes	Gave Elyzabeth Acton against Whitsontide—1s; & at the faier—10s:	20s
Elyza Acton	Gave James Mearick, brought sider:	1s
	For 1000 of red & white pinnes—9d; gloves—6d:	15d
	Gave little Harbert Westfaling, my godson:	1s
29	Gave William Gullafor, baker, in Heriford, after his howse was burned at Wye bridge:	2s 6d
a howse bur[n]t		
29	For 10 yards—a naile les—of tyfany for a ruffe, and a skaine of thrid to sow hit:	20s
tifany 30	Paid Phillip Aston, apotycari, for ingredience for whay: ⁶⁹	3s
phisick for my self	For a pott to preserve prunes in:	2d
July	Gave my cosin Mr John Smith, precher:	2s 6d
6	For fine sisters thrid to hemme>a< tifany ruff:	3d
pales for the new garden; this should goe in the boke of billding ther	Paid William Joiner and his man, 2 daies and a half in setting up new pale betwixt my garden and John Prichetts fould, he 14d, his man 1s a day:	5s 5d
	To Phillip Joanes, 3 daies in the same worke:	3s
	Paid the sawyers 2 daies in sawinge pale that wanted:	3s 10d

⁶⁸ Edward Pitts had been a servant to Sir Thomas Coningsby. Thomas left him an annuity of £5 in his will to keep him at university, requesting that Fitzwilliam Coningesby present him for the next parsonage that became available after his education was completed. NA PROB 11/148, will of Sir Thomas Coningsby.

⁶⁹ Whey was said to be good for hot stomachs or livers if clarified, and could also be used to relieve an itch. Cohan, *Haven of Health*, 255.

12	Gave my god daughter, Joyce Walsh the younger, when she went home to Worcester from Heriford:	5s
	I sent to Mary Ansley, my neece, the same tyme:	1s
10	Gave Mrs Elyzabeth Russell, som tyme my maid,	
Mrs Elyza Russell	6 months usse for 100li, which I gave her to her mariage, due May 9, 1641:	4li
18	Gave Mrs Rogers—1s; fine thrid againe—4d:	16d
	Paid William Spencer for cariinge one waine	
	loade of elme timber & one load of the crop from Ailston:	4s
Adam	For 2 loades of clay to new mend the clay chamber flore:	2s
Stefens	To Adam Stefens, 6 daies mendinge the ould chamber flores at John Fletchers howse, at 14d a day:	7s
	To his father in law, Baker, 6 daies making mortar:	5s 6d
	Paid William Badam for putting a new sill in the stable walle:	6d
	For nailles—2d; for heare—4d—to make mortar for the stable walle:	6d
	For lether shreds to make [deletion] a whiting to wash the walles:	8d
	For a paier of stockings for James Wattis:	9d
Elyza Acton	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to putt in her purce:	1s
24 ⁷⁰	Bes Goulding and Anne Arnold spent in going to a woman to help her legge, wherof the woman had 10d:	18d
	To the smith in the Broad Streete for shuing my mares:	2s
William Joyner	For mending a bridle—3d; paid William Joyner & his 2 men 2 daies a peece at the pale in my upper gardin by the wo[o]dpile:	6s 6d
	Incke—1d; gave Mathias Rufford when he cam from Wiggmor—1s:	13d
Cobnalls mowed	Paid Thomas Abram & his partner for mowing all the Cobnalls medows; 2 at 14d a day, a peece: ⁷¹	12s
12s, hay makers 9s 7d	Paid John Heane and his wyfe 3 daies making hay there:	3s 3d
cariage of 10 loades—20s	To John Morris, 3 daies—2s; William Rawlins, 2 daies—1s:	3s
	To an ould man that loked work—4 daies making hay:	2s 4d
	To Joane Adiss, 2 daies making hay; 2 daies:	1s
mowing, making and cariage ys 41s 7d	Paid Mr Henry Mellin, alderman of Heriford, for cariing 8 waine loades of hay from the Cobnalls to Heriford:	20s
	Paid William Spencer for car[ry]ing 2 loades of the same hay:	5s
	Memrandon—that the Widow Smith of Ewe Withington rents on[e] of the 3 pastures next her house, at 6li a yeare.	

15li 9s 1d tru cast

⁷⁰This date refers to the entry re Elyzabeth Acton.

⁷¹The words 'a peece' have been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

1641	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 44v]
July		
Ailston mowed	Paid Thomas Abraham & his partner for mowing all my 3 pastures at Ailston, at 14d a peece, a day:	15s 2d
15s 2d		
hay made	To Isatt Low for making hay & diet:	4d
	To John Heane & his wyfe, 5 daies makeing hay:	5s 5d
	To John Morris, 6 daies at 8d a day with out diet:	4s
	To Peter Coacheman, 3 daies—21d; to a fellow, on[e] day—6d:	2s 3d
	To the felow called William, 3 daies more:	18d
hay made	To William Rawlins, 5 daies at 6d a day:	2s 6d
	To an ould man for tending the mow:	7d
16s 7d	Paid Mr Alderman, Harry Mellin for cariing	
cariage	10 waine loades of hay from Ailston medow, Heriford:	15s
of 14 load	And for cariing 4 loade to a barne over the way:	3s
cost—18s		
som for	Wood bought	
mowing,	Bought of Mr John Pearle of Akonbery, for ten dozen	
making &	[dozen] and a half of ould drawes in January, at 9s a	
cariing at	dozen, cariagde and all to my howse in Heryford:	4li 14s 6d
Ailston ys	Paid the same Mr Pearle for 4 bread[th]s of new	
49s 9d	valett woode in May 1641, at 23s 4d a brede:	4li 13s 4d
wood	Paid Richard Pullenn for making 24 duble dozen of	
bought	drawes at Nether Wood, at 6d a dozen, because I paid	
this spring	nothing for lopping the 4 bredes:	12s
	Paid Mr Hugh Russel for cariing these 4 bredes	
	from Mr Pearles wood to Heriford, 21s 8d a brede: ⁷²	4li 6s 8d
	Paid John Hodges for 4 bredths of wood at 25s a brede:	5li
Hawt	Paid Richard Pullen for making 31 dozen and a half &	
wood	6 drawes, at 6d a dozen, cam to:	15s 10d
	Paid Thomas Bidleston and his felow for making	
	24 dozen & 6 drawes, at 5d the dozen, came too:	10s 1d
	For lopping the same 4 bredes to Bidlston:	4s
Hauflf	Paid Mr Roger Williames of Hampton Bushop for	
Wood	cariing 4 bredths of vallett wood from Hauflf Wood to	
& Mr Perles	Herifford, at 33s a bredth, cam to:	6li 12s
wood cam	To Thomas Abraham for onne daies worke for making	
to 27li 8s	2 dozen & 13 drawes & 9 faggotts, which was all the	
5d	crop-wood I had from the withies at Cobnalls the yeare:	9d
Cobnalls	Paid Richard Benny, the baker, for cariing the said withy	
crops	crop from the Cobnalls to Heriford being 3 loade:	8s 6d

⁷²The phrase '21s 8d a brede' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

charcoll 18s 6d	Item—paid for one cart loade of charcole: For M Ruffords dinner gowing to b[u]ly wood at Mr Pearles:	18s 6d 1s
som totall in every place wood & workmen 29li 2s 6d	For measuring the 4 bread[th]s of wood at Mr Pearles wood—4 groates—& so much for measuring 4 bredes at Half Wood: To John Heane for cariing in wood from the street doore to the wood pile, at 8d a day, 2 daies & a half: To the irish souldier for helping to carry in wood:	2s 8d 1s 8d 1s
August 4	Gave Mary George of Cutston, when she came to see me at Heriford: And I sent Bessy Wast her daughter, of a token:	2s 6d 1s
coache 7	Paid Roger Dewell, sadler, and to the wheeler, for new mending my coache after William Merick, my coacheman, had willfully broken my coache—it cost me:	16s
shuing against Mrs Vaugh- hans jorney	Paid William Delahay the whole yeares hearbage for Cobnalls Ailston for this yeare, 1641: Paid for shuing my coache mares rownd: For shuing my gray mare & gray nagge:	18s 4s 2s 9d
blak silk moheres	Paid Mr Roger Seaburn, tailer, for making Anne Ailweies wedding [gown] that I gave her in May, 1641: ⁷³ For altering my blak silk taby gowne to clasp bfore: ⁷⁴ For picking out the thrids—1s; fustian [deletion]—8d: Silk>1s< and buttons—2d; clasps—1d: Buckram and bon—8d; gave Richard Lawrance tailer—6d	7s 8s 20d 15d [deletion] 8d

34li 15s 7d tru cast⁷⁵

1641 August	Heryford dissbursements	[f.] 45
14 a silk grogran gowne	Bought at London by Mr Richard Stockwall, tailer:- Imprimis—for 17 yeards of black silk grogran to make me a polonia coate and kirtle, at 10s 6d a yeard: for staies, stiffening & bone—3s 6d; fustian to the sleeves—2s 6d: for silk & galoone & galoone beneath: satin to face the hands & buttons: for 3 dozen and 4 yeards of black silk bon lace to strip downe the coate & kirtle, at 13s a dozen:	8li 18s 6d 6s 5s 6d 2s 43s 4d tru

⁷³ '1641' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

⁷⁴ Joyce had this garment altered to fasten at the front.

⁷⁵ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £34 15s 1d.

12li 12s 4d	To Mr Richard Stockwall for making this cote & kirtle:	17s
tru	Item—for a paier of whalbon bodies of sackcloth:	14s
	For 6 yeards of black silk riband at 7d a yeard:	3s 6d
statute	For 12 dozen of statute lace, half silk, at 2d a yeard:	24s
lace, red	For 6 ounces of fine sisters thrid, of 2 sorts:	10s 6d
& greene,	For greene thrid to sow the curtaine lace:	16d
stolen from	For a peece of white rewed fustian for wastcotes,	
me	conteyning 20 yeards at 1s a yeard:	20s
	For 3 elles of canvas to lap the gowne & paper:	5s 6d
	Bought at Bristoll faier by Mr Harry Meredith,	
	one fine large twilly bed tick, cost:	17s 6d
16	For a quarter of an elle of holand to make my ruffstocks:	8d
18	Paid Mawd Prichet one yeares usse for 10li, that	
usse paid	she intreted me to sett fourth for he[r] daughter Elnor	
	Prichet, and was due July 23, 1640:	16s
Elizabeth	Bought of my cosin James Bridges of Worster,	
Actons red	mercier, for 11 yeards demy of carnasion	
gowne	camellto in graine, at 3s 6d a yeard:	2li 0 3d
	2 dozen of narow silver bonlace:	16s 10d
	Sowing silk—1s; canvas—12d; buckram—9d:	2s 9d
	Carnasion callicow in graine, 1 elle:	2s 6d
	White callicow, 1 elle—3s; serge to border—16d:	4s 4d
	Whalbon—6d; riband & galoone lace—1s:	18d
	Tafitey to face bozom & hands—21d; a busk—4d:	2s 1d
som	For a bumme rowle—20d: ⁷⁶	20d
som 3li 19s 11d	For the making of this camillto gowne to Thomas	
	Tailer of Worster, >a < tailer by his trade & name:	8s
coache	Item—I paid for mending of the coach, brass nailles:	3d
for Mrs	Irons to the spring tree—18d; 2 linge pinnes—4d:	22d
Vaughans	One rawle and pin—7d; making the spring tree—16d;	
jorney	the tymber was my owne—ashe:	23d
	Paid John Heane for making hay & cariing in drawes:	2s 10d
23	Half an>quarter< ounce of red thrid—6d; half a	
	quarter of black—4d:	10d
	Half a quarter of red silk—3d; laces—1d:	4d
24	For hoocks and eyes—1d; tenter hoocks—1d; Badams	
	shues—3d:	5d
	A skaine of black silk for E A[cton]—4d:	4d
28	Gave William Ovinton, brought a side of venison	
venisonne	from Sir Humfrey Baskerville of Earsley Castle:	2s 6d

⁷⁶The bum-roll or roll farthingale, a padded roll around the waist to support the skirt, had by this time overtaken the stiffer wheel farthingale made of whalebone or wire, which by 1615 was no longer in vogue. Smaller than the earlier farthingale, the bum-roll too had largely disappeared by the 1630s; Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook*, 87–9.

28	Paid for redeeming in my iron pott that was	
iron pott	stollen out of my howse in Heriford and pawned to an	
	almes woeman at Bysters Gate; an almes woman:	4s
	Baies to border Marie Baddams petycoate, greene:	9d
	Cloth to make her a paier of whalbon bodies:	11d
	For a paier of lambe skin gloves—6d; gave Mr Collins	
	man—6d:	1s
	Whalbon & thrid for Mary Baddams red bodies:	6d
tufted	For 3 yeards demy of white tufted holand for	
holand	Elyzabeth Actons wastcoat, 17d a yeard & cadis to bind it:	6s 4d
	A paier of wollen stocking for my cosin Jane:	13d
	Gave Silvester, the sexton of the M[i]nster:	6d
	Gave William Callowhill, my foster brother, at Herifford:	1s

23li 12s 7d tru cast

1641	Heryford dissbursments	[f. 45v]
August	Bought of Mr Henrye Meredith, mercer, in Heriford,	
my mens	for Thomas Harris and Thomas Bedford, my servants	
shutes	liveries:-	
& clokes	Imprimis—for 12 yeards & 3 quarters of fine spanish	
I gave	cloth, at 10s 6d a yeard, for 2 shutes & clokes:	6li 13s 10d
them	4 dozen of large coate buttons of silk at 8d a dozen:	2s 8d
	one quarter of an ounce & half of sowing silk:	9d
	one quarter and a half of powle davye to line:	6d
this	one neck button and lowp of silk:	10d
fett[ched]	more fetched for them both, 3 yeards of strong canvas:	3s
at the first	10 yeards of fine pinked white bustian to line, at 14d:	11s 8d
	2 dozen more of lardge cote buttons:	1s 4d
	6 dozen of coate buttens at 6d a dozen:	3s
	3 quarters of an ounce and half of silk more:	1s 9d
	2 paier of bellye peece—8d; 4 pocketts—1s:	20d
	6 ounces of black thrid—1s; classpes, 2 dozen—6d:	18d
	tape, 6 yeards—5d; tafitye to face hands—18d:	23d
	loope lace, 1 yeard—2d; past boord—2d:	4d
	a quarter and half of calicow—6d; cullerd buckram,	
	demi yeard>7d<:	13d
	one necke button and lowp of silk for T Haris:	10d
	for 2 yeards 3 quarters of 6d riband—blue—for the	
	kneese:	16d
making	on[e] quarter more of silk—6d—for making Thomas	
	Harris cloake, dublett and hose, at his owne diett:	8s
	Thomas Bedfords cloake & shute, made in my howse by	
	Edward Munkland, with diet & 6d a day & 4d his boy:	5s
	Som trall of these liveries, cloakes & shutes ys	
	9li 1s tru	

	Item—paid Edward Munkland for making Mary Baddam a red petycote, cloth and wastcote and a white dimety wastcote for Elizabeth Acton & bon & thrid for Mary Badams bodies:	7s 6d & diet
29	steeres	Paid for a yeock of steeres to feede at Bradward: 5li 10s
	at Leominster faier	For one heyfer at 3li 3s; an heifer more—53s 4d: 5li 16s 4d
		For toule—3d; and beere for my servants: 6d & 3d
September 9	I gave my cosin Charles Phillips 2 daughters of the Heath, Sarah & Jane, both married at London, when they were in the cuntrey and came to see me at Heriford:	20s
9		
12	Gave Isack Robins, brought venison from Homcastle:	2s 6d
	venison	Gave Mrs Richardsons coache man: 6d
12		Gave Mary Powell, widdow: 6d
14	I paid Mr Phillip Simons, junior, and Mr Thomas Church, junior, collectors for the powle money that was graunted the kings majesties in this present Parliament, 1641:	5li
	powle money	
	paid	Paid them also for Elyzabeth Acton powle money: ⁷⁷ 6d
14		Paid Thomas Harris a quarters wages, due August 3, 1641: ⁷⁸ 12s 6d
	wages	
15	For a paier of shuse for my cosin Jane Gorton:	2s 6d
	shuse	Allam & brazell to coller her stockings: 2d
	My cosin	Gave my neence [niece] Elizabeth Brown when she went home to Hassfeeld from Heriford: 11s
	Henry Brown	To the washing woemen for 2 buckings washing: 4d
	& his wyfe	Paid Edward Munkland for 3 daies abowt Elyzabeth Actons cloths: 18d
	weare at Heriford	
21 ⁷⁹		Paid Mr George Lea, bailiff to the kings majesties, one yeares rent, due at Micklmas, 1641, for John Prichtetts howse: 18d
	cheeffe rent	To Mr Lea for an acquittance for the same cheeffe rent: 4d
	cheeff rent	Paid one yeares cheeffe rent to the cannons of the church of Herifford for John Prichtetts howse, due at Heriford Micklmas, 1641: 2s
		Sent Mrs Mary Wallwin, widdow, when she was sick: 6d

28li 11s 11d tru cast

⁷⁷Parliament granted Charles the right to introduce a poll tax in 1641; S. Dowell, *A History of Taxation and Taxes in England from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York, 1965), 161. Joyce was taxed at the gentleman's rate of £5, and Elizabeth Acton at 6d, the rate due for wives and children. See D. Woodward, ed., *The Farming and Memorandum Books of Henry Best of Elmswell, 1642* (London, 1984), 97–9.

⁷⁸The phrase 'due August 3, 1641' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

⁷⁹This date refers to the entry re Elizabeth Browne.

1641	Michaellmas: Heriford dissbursments	[f.] 46
October		
8	Given to the midwyfe and nurce at the cristening of Mr Fitzwilliam Lawrence>daughter< Joyse, to whom I fownd:	10s
Joyse Lawrence baptised	Sent to Mr Maier of Heriford, Davye Bowin, as a present:	10s
	Paid Mr Undersheriff, Henry Blackway, for his feese in the shute betwixt the Lady Points & me:	5s
	To the washing woman—8d; a thrumme mab to wash the roome[?] ⁸⁰ —6d:	14d
9	To Edward Mu[n]kland for 5 daies abowt Elyzabeth Actons cloth gowne and Mary Baddams wastcote & diet:	2s 6d
	Given ould Mrs Simons maid, brought me aples:	4d
	Given my cosin Phillips maid of the Heath, brought a cake:	4d
Chamber-leine	Given the butchers man at the faier:	4d
	For mending Mary Baddams shuse:	3d
11	For a paier of shuse for Elyzabeth Acton:	2s 2d
howse rent	Paid John Fletcher 6 months rent for the howse I dwell in in Widmarsh Streete, due at Micklmas, 1641:	3li
	To the washing woeman—6d; to the porter brought br[e]ad[?] ⁸⁰ —2d:	8d
15	3 quiers of brown paper—6d; broomes—6d:	1s
a litle gray nagge.	Paid for a yong gray nagge at Kingsland faier: ⁸⁰	56s 6d
for 2>ruffes< [?] at 3s a yerd	For a black birds cage—14d; a litle twiggen flaskit—14d	2s 4d
broad rent	For 2 dust baskitts—8d; 8 yards demy cobweb—25s 6d:	26s 2d
	Gave Allis Bullock when she paid me rent:	1s
	Paid the Widdow Beedlston 6 months rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse rent, due at Miklmas, 1641:	20s
Widow Exton	Paid Goodwife Eisham [Exton], widdow for barne roome at Ailston to putt som hay of myne, in full:	6s
	Paid for a litle brazen caldron:	3s
wollin cloth	Paid for 12 yards of a dark medley to make my servants clothes, as James Wattis, Mary Badam and others, at 2s 6d the yeard:	30s
	For 8 yards of red cloth at 2s 6d a yeard, only 6d abated for want of measure:	19s 6d
flaxen cloth	I paid for 22 elles of fine flaxen cloth at 2s 10d the elle, cam too:	58s 6d

⁸⁰ At Kingsland the fair, granted by charter, was to be held on the manor at the Feast of St Michael Archangel [29 September]. Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gazweb2.html>>:[Kingsland] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006).

shuing horses	To Hugh Watkins for shuing my mares & nagge:	7s
rent to William Eysham	I paid Mr Bodnam half a yeares rent for the howse, barn, stable & hay roomes that William Eyshams wife dwells in—20s—which 20s I doo disburs, for that I am to pay Eisham at this tyme for my barn & stable there & this quiitts [quits] hit, due at Micklmas, 1641; so I have paid my rent:	20s
Mr Prin	Paid Chamberlaine for killing a beffe for me:	1s
	Paid Mr Cowper for a new booke of Mr Prinns, Docter Bastwick and Mr Burtons troubles: ⁸¹	2s 2d
28	Paid for a segge matt to put before my chamber chimney:	20d
Mr John Edmunds London	I gave Mr John Edmunds, scrivener, in the Stranne, London, for his paines in my busines:	10s
	He bought for me in London 10 quier of dutch paper:	4s
29	Item—for a booke of the Earle of Straffords arainment and his pickture & the Arch Bushop Lawds,	
bookes & picktures London	and som other picktures of their sect, cost: ⁸²	4s 4d
Herodatus	And for the booke cauled Herodatus: ⁸³	3s

⁸¹ J. Bastwick, *A briefe relation of certaine speciall and most material passages, and speeches in the Starre-Chamber, occasioned and delivered the 14th day of June, 1637. At the censure of those three famous and worthy gentlemen, Dr. Bastwicke, Mr Burton and Mr. Prynne* (Leiden, 1638). In 1637 the religious controversialists John Bastwick and Henry Burton, and the lawyer William Prynne, were found guilty in the Star Chamber of seditious libel. They were fined £5000, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Prynne had previously suffered the cropping of his ears in 1632; in 1637 all three had their ears cut off. B. Coward, *The Stuart Age England 1603–1714*, second edition (London, 1994), 176. See also F. Condict, 'Bastwick, John (1595?–1654)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1659>]; K. Gibson, 'Burton, Henry (bap. 1578, d. 1647/8)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4129>]. W. Lamont, 'Prynne, William (1600–1669)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 30 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22854>].

⁸² *Depositions and articles against Thomas Earle of Strafford, Febr. 16. 1640 and Articles of the Commons assembled in Parliament against Thomas Earle of Strafford* were published in 1640 and again in 1641. Strafford was charged with high treason, accused of advising Charles to employ the Irish army against his subjects in England. He was found guilty and executed on 12 May, 1641. Wentworth and William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, were close allies in the 1630s, united in their concern for the restoration of clerical and church order. Laud, who sought to restore the Church of England 'to the rules of its first reformation', was impeached for high treason in December 1640, and finally executed on 10 January, 1645. R.G. Asch, 'Wentworth, Thomas, first earl of Strafford (1593–1641)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29056>]. A. Milton, 'Laud, William (1573–1645)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 30 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16112>].

⁸³ Herodotus, *The famous history of Herodotus* (London, 1584). Heralded as the world's first historian, Herodotus of Harlicarnassus [b. 490–480 BCE] was a Greek writer who sought to 'trace the events which brought Greece into conflict with Persia, with a full description of that memorable struggle'. His nine books also included information on the general history and customs of much of the ancient world. A. De Selincourt, ed., *Herodotus: The Histories* (London, 1954), 7–8.

30	Gave Goody Jons of the Friers, to help to bury her husband:	1s
31	Gave Anne Godsale when I cam a gossiping to her mistress, Mrs Elyzabeth Russell:	6d
November 1	Paid Edward Trahern for setting in Mary Baddams legge:	1s
bonne setter	Gave my cosin William Conyngesby:	1s
4 ⁸⁴		
6	Gave Mr Caleb Moore, brought 6li rent:	1s
	Paid Hary Moore, the smith, for dressing my gray coults legge, hurt with leapp[ing?] a hedge:	2s 8d
6	Paid John Wanklin, iron munger, in full upon his bill for a bed coard & a rope:	2s 2d
	For a lether jack delivered to Elyzabeth Newton:	2s
	For 2 iron cheesells—7d; nailes—2d:	9d
	For 2 hors locks—2s; for washing 3 buckings—6d:	2s 6d
19li 4s 7d tru cast ⁸⁵		
1641	Heriford dissbursments	[f. 46v]
November 12	Paid Elyzabeth Gowldinge half a yeares wages, due at Allholandtide, 1641, all the due:	10s
wages & usse	Paid her half a yeares usse for 22li 10s, being her stock for the howse I bought of her in	
Elyza Goulding	Widmarsh Streete, Heriford, due November the first, 1641:	18s
13	Gave Mrs Elyner Wallwin, when she paid usse:	1s
panne cord	For a new warming panne for my chamber:	6s
	For 14 yeards of smale cord for the jack:	1s
16	Paid Nathaniell Brazier of Shellwick for a black milche [milk] cow and a calf:	3li 6s
a cow & calf	For a paier of shuse for James Wattis:	2s 6d
18 ⁸⁶	Paid Mr Lide, gouldsmith, in Heriford, for a sillver bowle to give Mrs Lawrance daughter, which I fownd too [to], caller [called] Joyse Lawrance, at	
	5s 8d an ounce:	48s 10d
	Paid for 2 hors collers of whitte lether:	3s 6d
killin heare	For a curry comb—6d; and a houlter—3d:	9d
	For 20 yeards & 3 quarters of new killin heare:	21s

⁸⁴This date appears to refer to the entry re William Conyngesby.

⁸⁵The figures for this folio as given above actually total £19 4s 6d.

⁸⁶The date refers to the entry re the cow and calf.

20	Gave Maudelin Mawris, my bruig maid,	
22	[deletion] to her clements boule ⁸⁷ , for me & Elyzabeth Acton:	18d
a bucket	Paid for a new buckett for my well & whooping—1s: ⁸⁸	13d
24	Paid Thomas Haris a quarters wages, due September 3, 1641:	12s 6d
wages		
T Haris	For mending a pott and panne & cowping vessels:	2s 1d
	Gave Nell Prichet when the vate was new botomed:	1s
gloves	Paid for 3 paier of fine white kid skin gloves:	3s 6d
Desember	And for a paier for Elyzabeth Acton:	1s
3	To the washer—6d; gave a mad woman—2d:	8d
	For 2 paier of perfumed gloves for my self:	2s 8d
training	Paid John Trahearn, shumaker, for 4 daies traini[n]g	
sowldiers	the last yeare; for gott till now:	6s 8d
4	For 2 white brushes made of shavings of wood:	5d
bon lace	For 3 yeards of bonlace for Elyzaber Acton:	8s
7	For 4 yeards of bonlace to edge handkerchers:	5s 3d
	Paid Hary, the smith, for irons for my coache & a loke, etc:	5s 6d
10	To a chimney sweeper for sweeping 5 chi[m]neys:	15d
27	Paid for 11 yeards demy of browne frice for James Watis and others that I gave it too, at 2s 4d a yeard:	26s 8d
Desember	For powder and shott—1s; for tiling over Golding Halle—8[d]:	20d
15	For a box of lambative from Phillip Astonne:	2s
	3 lether skinnes for cushins; tacks—1d; 2s:	2s 1d
	Paid Edward Mu[n]kland 6 daies making James Wattis a frice shute & makings quishins & a cheier:	3s & diet
	Linings, buttons & thrird for James Wattis shute:	
	2 lether poketts for the shute—[blank]; & 2 skinmes to line hose:	18d
17	Paid for a quarter of an elle of holand for my ruff stock:	10d
bodies	For a paier of whale bonne bodies for Elyzabeth Acton:	4s 6d
	For clowded ribanding for her, red, elow and oringe:	2s 6d
18	Browne paper—2d; for 16 elles of hurden cloth, flax hurds	
hurden	at 16d an elle—21s 4d; & the paper—2d; thats:	21s 6d
cloth	A paier of stockings for James Wattis:	8d
	Given to the prisoners—3d; for washing—4d:	7d
22	For 2 litle segge matts—4d; a new spittle—2s 6d:	2s 10d

⁸⁷In Staffordshire almanacs from the late seventeenth century the Feast of St Clement (23 November) was celebrated with a pot, 'from the ancient custom of going about that night, to beg drink to make merry with'. St Clement was the patron saint of blacksmiths, iron-workers, carpenters and anchor-makers, and Hutton suggested that the tradition was originally carried out by adult men. See R. Hutton, *Stations of the Sun A History of the Ritual Year in Britain* (Oxford, 1997), 54–7. See also f. 56.

⁸⁸The phrase '& whooping' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

	Gave a poore gentlman called Mr Garnons:	4d
	Gave Elyzabeth Actonne to putt in her purce:	20s
27	I gave the waites—3s; gave James Prichett—1s:	4s
27	Gave the poore at the Minster church:	4d
	For a paier of wostid stockings for Elyzabeth Acton:	6s
	For clowded silk ribands for her girdle & knotts:	2s 6d
January	Gave the 2 fidlers—6d; & Mrs Bifords dawghter—6d:	1s
1	Gave Mrs Lechmors maid—6d; and Doll the baker—6d:	1s [?]
	Gave the waites beedles—8d; to the waites—3s:	3s 8d
	Gave Mr Bakers maid—4d; to a man that keeps the church dore—3d:	7d
	Gave Mr Simons maid, brought a tirkie & 2 capons:	6d
in my ould hous	For mending the glass windose in hall, parlor & chamber:	3s

17li 8s 3d tru cast⁸⁹

1641	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 47
January		
6	Gave Joyse Gravill, my god daughter:	1s
9	Gave Margitt Powell, widdow:	6d
10	Gave Mrs Rogers, widdow—1s; to a poore man—2d:	14d
	For 2 shipskins to line [deletion] James Wattis hose:	14d
	For a paier of lether pockitts for him:	4d
	For a paier of lamb skin gloves for my self:	6d
13 wages T Bedford	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coachman, half a yeares wages due:	30s
13	For a new iron rake head of Megge Coock:	14d
14	For 2 yeards of bonlace to edge a handchercher:	3s 8d
15 anuety	Given Thomas Davies, the joiner of Bodnam, when he brought my anuety from Hampton Court:	6d
	Paid for a new greate bitt & bridle for the greate coatche mare:	5s
	Paid for a pack sadle girth:	15d
1 yeard & a half mittins	For an elle and a quarter of lawne to make Elyzabeth Acton 2 gorgitts:	8s
	For an ounce & quarter of whitted browne thrid:	5d
	To the washing woman, 2 daies & diett:	4d
22	2 quier of brown paper:	4d
	Paid for mending the pads & a sussingle:	16d
	For cariage>downe< of a box with cambrick & paper, etc:	20d
	For shuing my horses befor Cristmas:	4s 4d
	For a new allminak:	2d

⁸⁹ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £17 7s 9d.

poore paid	Paid to the poore of All Saints, for a quarter:	2s
against	Gave Margit Redfern, Mrs Gravells maid:	6d
Cristmas	I sent my neece and god daughter, Mrs Joyce	
1641	Walshe, of a token—10s Gould; & to her daughter—5s:	15s
February	I sent the same time to my neece Mary Ansley:	1s
1		
Mr Russell	Paid Mr William Russell for a red lether skin:	9d
Cobnalls	Paid Frances White [deletion] of Fellston, bailyf to the	
rent	Lad[y] Grissell Points, half a years rent for a pasture	
	called the Cobnalls, due at Candlmas, 1641,	
	the whole yeare being ended now at Candlmas, 1641:	7li
8	Paid Edward Munkland 3 daies making my cosin	
	Joanne Farley a petycote & wastcote of medley:	18d & diet
	For cariage to London of a fatt turky cock to	
	Mr Stokwall:	1s
10	Given Ned Harris, the bedlam man:	1d
straw	Paid Mr Phillip Trahern & William Spencer	
10	for straw; the master—20s; the man—3s 4d:	23s 4d
14	Gave Mr Tom Aston on Valantides Day:	1s
	Gave Mr Dick Gravell, cam to be my valentine: ⁹⁰	1s
16	Sent my god sonne John Jeffreys (by Mr Edward	
	Wallwin, marchant) to Iper, in the Low Cunttreys:	20s Gould
17	Sent my neece, Elyzabeth Browne, that sent me a	
	shuger>loff<:	10s g[ol]d
18	Gave her man that brought hitt to Heriford:	1s
19	Gave my cosin William Conyngesby with the one eye:	1s
at Candlmas	Paid Elyzabeth Goulding one quarters wages:	5s
1641	Paid her a quarters usse for 25li 10s stock for her	
usse	howse: ⁹¹	9s
	Gave my cosin Brownes man brought a letter from	
	the Lady Points from London:	6d
25	Gave Mary Powell, widdow:	6d
	For a new bucket for the well:	14d
28	For pecking the mault mill:	6d
	To Jauncy for grafting plumme treese:	4d
[deletion]	Gave my cosen Blunts wyfe:	6d
	Sirof of cowlts foote for my cosin Fareley:	4d

⁹⁰ On this occasion two men had arrived to claim the honour of being Joyce's valentine, but Tom (who had also been her valentine in 1638/9, f. 30v) being first, had succeeded. Nevertheless, Joyce treated them both to a shilling.

⁹¹ Joyce appears to have been in error here—earlier and later entries suggest the amount owed to Elizabeth Goulding at this point was £22 10s, and the original debt for the house purchase had only been £25.

28	Gave Margit Bowen, Mawd Prichetts maid, at her mariage to John Bowing, glover:	10s
15li 9s 4d tru cast ⁹²		
1641	1641 Heryford dissbursments	[f. 47v]
March		
1	Given Elyzabeth Acton to putt in her purce:	5s
	To the smith in the Broade Streete for shuing my horses:	5s 8d
	To Beedlston & his fellow, 5 daies cutting downe woont hillocks in Ailston & turnips at 8d a day:	6s 8d
elmme	To them for cutting downe the ellme that	
for a plump	Mr Price gave me to make a plump: ⁹³	6d
in Ailston	To 2 sawiers for cutting and [?] him, a day:	20d[?]
9	Gave James Mearick, brought a samonne from Homcastle:	1s
10	Gave Elyzabeth Arnold at her wedding:	1s
11	[A]poticaries stuff for my cosin Joane Farley when she was sick—10d:	10d
Tho Haris	Paid Thomas Haris a quarters wages, due at Candlmas,	
wages	1642; videlicet, his 4 yeards of frice for his coate at	
12s 6d	2s 4d a yeard—9s 4d; and 3s 2d he had in redy [money] now—3s 2d:	12s 6d
	Paid him for frost nailling the gray mare:	3d
a cord	For a cord to hang up the baccon at John Rawlins:	1d
mercier	Paid Mr Henry Meredith a bill for baies to border a gowne, thrid, dowlace, buttons for James Wattis shute, ribands, silk, past boord, loope lace, etc:	5s 4d
London	Bought by Mr Richard Stockwall for me as foloweth:-	
dissbursed	for 6 elles of fine holand>5s< 8d the elle:	34s
	for 6 elles of cambrick at 8s the elle:	48s
half yerd	for 12 yeards of tiffany at 2s 8d the yeard:	32s
brod	for a pownd of black and red thrid:	3s
	for 6000 of lardge white pinnies at 11d a 1000:	5s 6d
	6000 of a lesser sort white pinnes at 10d a 1000: ⁹⁴	5s
	for 3000 of neette pinnes at 10d a 1000: ⁹⁵	2s 6d
6li 17s	1000 of greate white pinnes:	4s 6d

⁹²The figures for this folio as given above actually total £15 9s 10d.

⁹³In 1640 Joyce, along with the whole of Widemarsh ward, was fined the sum of 20s 'for not rep[ar]ing the plumpe at Edward Trehernes house'; this may have been the reason for her later expenditure on a new pump. HAS Hereford City Documents Transcripts of Sacks, 20 viii ii. The court in question was not specified, but was probably the Law Day Court, since the format of the records is similar.

⁹⁴The phrase 'at 10d a 1000' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

⁹⁵The entry reads as 10000 but two '0's appear to have been joined together.

London	1000 of black pinnes:	2s 6d
serge	Bought by Mr Richard Stockwall for me as foloweth:-	
cote &	Imprimis—for 9 yeards and a quarter of blak duch	
kirtle	serge, perfumed, at 6s the yeard:	55s 6d
10s of the	for 6 dozen demy of black satin lace, imbrodered,	
55s 6d	at 10s a dozen, to strip downe the polonia	
went to	coate and kirtles and sleeves:	3li 5s
perfume	for staies, stiffening and bone:	3s 6d
	fustian to line the sleeves:	2s 6d
	silk and galoone lace:	4s
	ribands and clasps:	8s 6d
	bordering and buttons:	2s 6d
	taffitey and satin to face the hands and bosom:	3s
	for making the coate coat & kirtle, striptt downe	
	the sleeves, bodies and downe the skirts &	
the whole	kirtle with 2 satine laces togather, imbrodered:	20s
8li 3s.	for canvas to wrap the coate & kirtle in:	3s 8d
of Mr Hary	For 6 yeards of red feritt riband:	2s
Meredith	And 6 yeards of black feritt riband:	2s
	30 yeards of fine inckle for hearlasing:	10d
starch	For 12 pownd of white starch of Anne Masser:	4s
hurden	For 8 ells and a yeard of hurden cloth at 13d ob a yeard:	9s 6d
19	Given my cosin Joane Farley, widdow, when	
my cosin	she went home with her sonne, James Farley, from	
Joane Farley	Heriford:	10s
went from	Paid Mr Dockter Harford for his counsell given to	
Heriford	Elyzabeth Acton when she had neede:	5li
Dr Harford	Paid Thomas Jauncy 2 dayes worke in my gardin:	1s & diet
19	To the cowper—3d; for 12 pownd of white starch—4s:	4s 3d
starch	For a stonne of hurds for Margitt Booton to spin:	4s 3d
wages	Paid Mawdeline Mawris, my cock maid, her first	
Maudlin	half yeares wages, due November, the last day, 1641:	11s
21	I also gave her 2 yeards of red cloth for a wast cote,	
	cost me—5s; for cariage downe of my serdge cote &	
	kirtle:	1s

24li 10s 0 tru cast⁹⁶

1642	Heriford dissbursments	[f.] 48
March		
25	Gave Allis Low of Bodenham:	3d
	Gave Megge, a dauncer:	1d

⁹⁶The figures for this folio as given above actually total £24 15s 10d.

London disbursements	I gave Mr John Edmunds of London, scrivener, for his paines in my busines there:	10s
	Item—he bought for me half a reame of paper:	2s 6d
Quintus Curtius	For a boke called Quintus Curtius: ⁹⁷	2s 8d
at 5s 2d ell	Bought of Mr Henry Meredith, 6 elles of cambrick:	31s
	6 ells of fine holland at 4s 3d an elle:	25s 6d
	2 elles demy of finer holand at 5s 6d the elle:	13s 9d
	A remnant of fine holand for 2 handkerchers:	22d
holand petycote	For 9 yards of white tufted holand for Elizabeth Actons petycote, at 16d a yard:	12s
	1 yeard demy of 3d riband:	4d
serge cote	To Munkland for 5 dayes mendinge my new blak duch serge gowne that cam from London,	
25	cutting the sleeves shorter and the kirtle:	2s 6d
	For shuing my coach mares & a nagge:	5s 8d
	To Beedlston & his fellow, 5 dayes cutting woont hilocks and tining at Ailston, at 16s a day:	6s 8d
	To them for cutting downe an elme:	6d
	To William Spencer for cariing home the elme butt:	3s
	For thrummes—2lb—to make a mabb:	6d[?]
28	Given Mrs Alice Blunt, widdow, at John Rawlins howse: ⁹⁸	6d
	Given auld Mrs Burghill, widdow:	1s
flaxen	Paid Mrs Kingman for 9 elles of flaxen, at 2s the elle:	18s
30	Gave the nurse to my cosin Humfrey Beringtons daughter Katherin, which her mother died off,	
my cosin	of [deletion] Bishopstonne; the childe is dead also:	1s
Beringtons	Spent in my howse in Heryfford the whole yeare past, endinge on St Mary Eve, 1641,	
wyfe died a	in corne, mault, flesh, fish, wine, shuger,	
this Wensdai	spice and whittmeate, etc:	161li 8s 5d ob
morning at	Dissbursed in my farm at Bradward the whole yeare abowt, ending on St Mary Eve, 1641,	
3 a clock	in b[u]yinge of som cattell for the grownd and workmens wages and many charges; wages, vitteles, for my	
31 day	servants harvest work, throsing & all elce, much beeffe, bacon, etc., went from my howse	
	in Heriford thither, which is not reconed now:	130li 17s 8d
299li 5s 3d		
ob this side		
very tru		
cast		

⁹⁷ *Quintus Curtius Rufus, The history of Quintus Curtius, containning the actes of the great Alexander. Translated out of Latine into English, by John Brende* (London, 1614). Other editions survive from between 1553 and 1602. Quintus Curtius Rufus, author of the *History of Alexander*, a biography of Alexander the Great, was active in the first century CE. N. J. Burich, *Alexander the Great A Bibliography* (Kent State, 1970), xx.


⁹⁸ The phrase 'at John Rawlins howse' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

Somme totale dissbursed the whole yeare
past, endinge on St Mary Eve, 1641,
at Heryford & Bradward & all places ellce: 521li 4s 1d

1642

1642

[f. 48v]

April	New dissbursments at Heryford begininge at	
1	St Mary Day, 1642, untill this tyme twelvmonth	
he died	folowing; written at John Fletchers howse	
3 weecks	in Widmarsh Streete, where I now dwell	
agonne	to Gods pleasure.	
wages	Imprimis—paid Thomas Bedford, my coache man, one	
T Bedford	quarters wages due to him:	15s
2	To Mr Hary Meredith for 1000 of pinnes:	3s
pinnes	Brown paper, 2 quiers—6d; blak silk buttons—3d:	9d
	Black silk—3d; making James Wattis a frock—3d:	6d
6	Paid Giles Brace, tanner, of Heriford, for a very	
a very litle	litle sorrel horse out of Wales, 4 yeare ould:	8s 6d
stoned	Paid Hugh Wattkins, the smith, for shuing my horses:	8s 7d
horce		
10	To the washer—2d; for my offering at the	
	comu[n]ion—6d:	8d
Ester Day	Gave the waites on Ester Munday:	18d
waites		
11	Paid John Rogers, barber, over seere for the poore,	
	one quarter, due at Ester, 1642:	2s
poore	Paid Mathias Rufford one quarters wages at	
paid	St Mari Day: ⁹⁹	20s
wages	Gave Grace Arnold—1d; and litle Mary Edwin—3d:	4d
11	Gave my cosin Jane Gorton:	6d
16	For a new paille—16d; & whooping—2d:	18d
shuse &	A pair of shuse for my cosin Jane Gorton:	2s 8d
hose for	For a paier of sh blue hose for her:	14d
my cosin	Gave her to goe to the comunion table:	4d
Jane	Gave the clarks wyfe Gooddy Reece:	4d
16	For a paier of wostid stockings for my self, blue & red:	5s 6d
20	Paid Goody Reece, the clarks wyffe, for her husbands	
	wages at Easter—8d; I gave her—1s 4d:	1s
	For mending Mary Baddams shuse;	5d
for duties	Paid Mr Haggley, vicker of Al Saints, for my offering	
at Ester to	at Ea[s]ter for my self and my gardens, and	
Mr Haggley	for my servants offerings at Ester, 1642:	10s

⁹⁹ Both of Joyce's hand signs here were intended to refer to the Rufford entry, as the example in the left margin is linked to it with an 'X'.

26	Bought by Mr Francis Geerce of Garnons, junior, at London for me, one blacke bever hatt and a black silk band, both cost:	3li 10s
	I paid for cariinge downe the hatt in a hatt casse:	1s
	I paid, in Heriford, for smoothing the brimmes that were crushed in the carriage:	18d[?]
birds cage	To Goody Deverocks for a birds cage—18d; a flaskit—18d:	3s
27	For mending the eares of 2 flasskits:	3d
2 redd saddles	Paid Dewell, the sadler, for 2 stamill liverye sadles for my 2 coach mares:	23s
27	For stirops & lethers, girths, sadle clothes, bridles: For a red lether collar for my litle welsh hors coult:	11s 6d 1s[?]
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—1s; for lavender seeds—1d:	13d
rent May 1	The 20s rent due to William Eis[h]am, tanner, for his barne, stable and hay roomes for half a yeare, due at the Anunciation, 1642, was cutt off in part of usse for 40li which he oweth me, due upon an accownts with a goode deale more:	20s
rent	Paid the Widdow Beedlston half a yeares rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at Anunciation, 1642:	20s
Ailston	Paid Beedlston for 4 daies hedging & ditching at 9d a dai:	3s
2	Paid Beedlston more, 3 daies more in the same work:	2s 3d
	Paid Thomas Jauncy, the gardiner, 2 daies dressing hartichoks:	12d
Mrs Philip Baskerville was heare a ellow he catt	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to goe to Killlkinton: 2s 6d ¹⁰⁰ Gave my goddaughter, Mrs Phillip Baskerville: To the washer—4d; gave Mr Francis Geeres man, that brought a elow cypress catt from the Lady Dansey of Brinshop—4d:	2s 6d 20s 8d
7		

13li 6s tru cast¹⁰¹

1642	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 49
Aprill		
May		
8	Gave Mrs Tomkins, the midwife, at the cristenig of Mrs Anne Ailweys daughter, Beatrice:	1s
Anne Ailways childe	Gave the nurce keeper then: I gave Mrs Elyzabeth Russell as a porsion:	1s 100li

¹⁰⁰ The amount '2s 6d' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.¹⁰¹ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £12 9s 6d.

Elyza	Gave her for one half yeares usse for the	
Russell	same, due May the 9th:	4li
104li	For botominge maulte sives & a rye sive:	10d
9	Paid Beedlstonne for 6 daies ditchings in Ailston:	4s 6d
	Paid Waters of Wellington for turninge	
	the pace of the gray mare & gray nagge:	8s 6d
	For inke & wax:	2d
12	For a paier of shuse for Mary Baddam:	2s 6d
	For an ounce of tobacko—6d; to Jauncy, 2 dayes—1s:	18d
15	Given the coock at Anne Ailweys churching:	1s
Anne Ailway	Gave her maid Bes then:	6d
churched	Gave Elizabeth Acton then:	2s
15	Sent Anne Ailway to b[u]y wine then:	10s
16	Paid Goody Joanes & her 2 maids	
	weedinge>the< gardin:	20d
usse to Maud	I paid Maude Prichett one yeares usse for the	
Prichet	10li I borrowed of her last, due May 17, 1642:	16s
18	Gave John a Tomas & Ruell, the fidlers:	6d
Assension	Gave the souldiers that shott off at my window:	1s & beere
Day 18	Gave the poore folks [folks] at the Minster:	2d
Mr Richard		
Weaver was	Paid Elyzabeth Goulding a quarters wages,	
buried—	due at Holirooday, 1642:	5s
burges		
in Heriford	Paid her a quarters usse for 22li 10s I owe her,	
wages	due the same Holirood Day, 1642:	9s
usse	Gave Tom Simons, that brought a litle dogge:	6d
24	Gave the coock of the coledge, brought a litle catt from	
	Hampton:	6d
25	For a paier of gloves for Elyzabeth Acton:	14d
26	Gave the>3< prinsoners of the Sheare gaile at my	
	dore: ¹⁰²	3d
27	Paid for 2 dayes weeding in the upper gardin:	8d
28	Gave Mrs Elinor Wallwine on Whittson Eve:	1s
29	Gave the poore at the Minster on Whit Sondag:	4d
Whit Sondag	For whoopping hoggsheds:	10d
29	Gave a poore woeman that was going to the bathe: ¹⁰³	2d
June	Gave the 3 maids & the horsman at Kilkinton:	2s
1	Gave the 2 maids and the horskeeper at Garnons:	18d
when I dined	Gave Elyzabeth Acton when we went to Killkinton &	
& supped	Garnons:	5s
there		

¹⁰² The phrase 'at my dore' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry. This may be a reference to the Bishop's gaol which is thought to have been located within the Bishop's Palace, but there is little evidence. Shoesmith and Crosskey, 'Go to Gaol', 100; Lobel, *Historic Towns*, map of eighteenth century Hereford.

¹⁰³ See also fn on f. 37v.

	Paid Watkins for shuing my coache mares & 2 others:	6s 8d
1	Paid John Baddam for tileing over Golding Halle:	6d
	For 4 new crestes for the same howse:	8d
toule for	Paid for toule when I sould my litle gray nagge:	2d
a gray nagge	For hay & standing for M Ruffords horse & the ostler:	3d
	Diner for my 2 men that brought the 2 oxen from Bradard:	8d
wages	Paid Magdalin Morris, my coock maid, half a	
Maudlin	yeares wages when she went away from me,	
Morris	due May 31, 1642:	11s
	To the glasier for mending the wi[n]dows wher I dwell:	2s 6d
forgott till	Gave the poore of Bysters Gate at Cristmas last:	1s
now	For cariadge down of a litle box with tiffany>& paper< etc:	6d
poore paid	Sent to Mr Pitts of Milson to distribute to the poore	
for half a	of Nene Sollers, due abowt Whitsontide, 1642:	8s
yeare	Paid William Dunne & William Gulleffer, overseers for the poore of Alholands in Heriford, 1 quarter for the [poor?] at Midsomer:	2s
poore paid	To 3 weeders in the gardin one day:	1s
in Heriford		
18	For an other new birds cage—18d; for a basket—2d:	20d
	To Edward Munkland for 7 daies work and diet:	3s 6d
wages	Paid Thomas Harris a quarters wages, due May 3, 1642:	12s 6d
T Harris	Gave Joyse Simons at the faier—7s; and before—3s:	10s
J Simons	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—20s; & Mrs Joyce	
18	Walsh—6s:	26s
Elyza Acton		
Joyce Walsh		
at Heriford		
faier		



112li 9s 4d tru cast

1642	Heriford dissbursments	[f. 49v]
June		
hurden	Paid Anne Bedford for 19 elles and a yeard of welch yearn cloth for sheetes, at 17d an elle:	27s 5d
20	Gave my>cosin < Brabazons horse man, for bringing his at the faier	
Browne	bay horse to my mare, Brown Bessy, & 4d to his boy:	2s 10d
Bessy	Given to Grace Arnold—1d; & to Anne Amis maid—4d:	5d
coverlet	For a new woollin coverlett, greene & red:	18s
20	For an elle of calicow for 2 paier of sleeves:	2s 8d
	For 2 ladles, 2 bowles, 6 woodden dishes:	15d
	For a paile of 3 gallons—1s; mutton, a shoulder—14[d]:	2s 2d
	A neck of vele—10d; sowsing fish—6d; lights—1d:	17d
20	For rushes—4d; for exchange of 3 candlsticks—2s:	[2s] 4d
	For exchainge of 3 basons for 5 new onnes:	4s 4d

at the	For exchange of [blank] pewter potingers for new:	5s 4d
faier	For a pewter tankard—18d; for 6 sawcers—18d:	3s
	For exchange of a chamber pott:	6d
	For exchange of a brasse kettle & 4 posnetts of brass, waiing 14 pownd, at 7d a lb, betwixt a new brass kettle, waiinge 16 pownd demy, at 14d a lb:	10s
the faier	Paid for 6 cownffett dishes—3s 6d; for a brass skellit—4s:	7s 6d
	For a pewter bowle for the kitchin—1s:	1s
nailes	For 500 of nailes at 9d a hundred & 500 at 7d a 100:	6s 8d
20	Sent my cosin Elyzabeth Harburn & her sister Mary Ansley to Worcester, by my cosin John Walsh, of a token [token]:	5s
Worcester	Gave Tom of the Cott that brought shuger—18lb—from Worcester:	4d
30	Gave Anne Amis maids, that [brought] a jowle of salmon: To the washer woeman—6d; gave the Worcester waites—1s:	4d 18d
July	Gave Elyzabeth Acton—1s; and Anne Bundy—5s:	6s
7	Gave Elyz Isack Robins, brought venison:	1s
8	To a walchman for one nights wash watching:	4d
16 9	Paid Jauncy for 1 day delving my safern pane:	6d
anuetty	Gave Thomas Waddam when he brought my anuetty:	1s
16 9	For a new hedge bill—14d; for an ashe cloth—6d:	20d
Antwarp	Sent to my sister Sibbill Warrin, to Ludlow Antwarp by Mr Shephard, a marchant of London:	20s
14		
16	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coatch man, a quarters wages, due afore Whitsontide, 1642:	15s
wages		
T Bedford	Paid Mrs Trahearn of the Tavern for 5 safern at 2s 4d a boshell pickt	11s 8d
Joyse	To the cowper—2d; gave a poore woeman—3d:	5d
Russell	Bought of Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, in Heriford:- Imprimis—for 4 yeards and 3 quarters of fine tufted holand that I gave Joyse Russell to make her a gowne, at 16d a yeard, cam to:	6s 4d
	canvas to line the bodies—5d; thrird & bon—2d:	7d
	To Munkland for making her gowne:	16d
Joyse	Bought of Mr Henry Meredith to make Joyse Simons a gowne:-	
Simons	13 yeards quarter of black tirky tammar, at 3s 4d a yeard:	44s 2d
	20 yeards of black bonne edging silk lace, at 4d a yerd:	6s 8d
	silk, a quarter demy—9d; roane canvas—1s, half elle:	21d
	cullered buckran—4d, quarter of the elle; duch fustia[n], on[e] elle—17d:	21d
	halfe elle yeard of black serdge to border:	15d
	black riband of 2 sorts—11d; ash coller calicow, 3 quarters—1s:	23d
	1 quarter of an elle of black broad callicow:	7d

som	for bonne—3d; and silk—3d; thats:	6d
3li 6s 1d	Paid Mr Roger Seaburn for making this gowne:	7s 6d
	To Jauncy, the gardiner, 2 daies setting safern heads:	1s
22	A paier of white shuse for Elyzabeth Acton:	2s 4d
23	For a new bridle and snafle—2s; a gimlet & nailes—7d:	2s 7d

12li 1s 10d tru cast

1642	Heryford disbursements	[f.] 50
July		
9	Paid Mathias Rufford for a bay>mare< coult,	
bay coult	2 year old:	4li 10s
	To John Elles of Mortymors Crosse, for dressing [the] greate coache mares eye:	1s
27	For a wine glasse—4d; & a viner [finer?] glasse—4d:	8d
wages	Paid Mr Mathias Rufford one quarters wages, due at Midsomer, 1642: 	20s
30	Gave my cosin Brownes man of Bromyard, brought a pigg and [blank] chikinse from her:	6d
usse	I paid Maude Pritchett one yeares usse for 10li, that I stand bownd for due to Mr Barksdale for the stock of Nell Pritchett, due July 23, 1642:	16s
usse	Item—I paid Mawde Prichett one yeares usse for 10li, that she gave me to keepe for Nell Prichett, due May 17, 1642: ¹⁰⁴	16s
	I gave Mathias Rufford, toward 100li I promised him to make a stock for his good service to me:	50li
a gyft		
30		
August		
1	Paid William Delahay for the herbadage of Ailston pasture for this yeare to cumme & for this harvest:	18s
cristening	Gave the midwyfe and nurs at the cristening of	
1	Mr Henry Merediths daughter, Mary:	2s
	Item I for gave Mrs Jane Higgins, widdow, which I ought to have had at our last agreement of dett:	20s
2	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to put in her purse:	5s
	Paid for pilles for her:	2s 6d
2	Gave Mrs Edwins maid at the Assises:	6d
paper	For 3 quier of browne paper:	6d
thatching	Paid for drawing 2 thrave of straw to thatch the piggs cott at the lower end of my gardin:	4d

¹⁰⁴ It was not uncommon for householders to keep or 'lay by' money for others. See for example, Penny, ed., *Sarah Fell*, 326, 351; R. Cholmeley, *The Memorandum Book of Richard Cholmeley of Brandsby, 1602–1623*, North Yorkshire County Record Office Publications, Number 44 (1988), 90.

	To the thatcher one day there—1s; 1 thrave of straw—15d:	2s 3d
4	For lugges to the same—6d; given Mrs Geerses maid—4d:	10d
	For 4 yeards of crimson tamma to make Betridge Ailway the first coate that ever she ware, at 2s a yeard:	8s
	For canves, silk & bonn—6d—for making the coate:	2s 2d
London a booke & pictures & pamflets	Bought by Mr John Edmunds, scrivener, the boke of the woorks of Justine, cost: ¹⁰⁵	8s 6d
	For 26 pamflets of Parliament nuse & the picktures of the yong Prince of Orange, William of Nassaw and his wyfe the Lady Mary, daughter to King Charles, at 2d a peece: ¹⁰⁶	4s 6d
tamma gowne	Paid Edward Munckland for making Betridge Ailwaies first gowne of red tamma:	16d
14 wood & cole	Imprimis—paid Mr John Pears of Alkenbery for 10 dozen of drawes, red[y] made & brought to Heriford, at 8s a dozen:	4li
	Paid Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, for 20 dozen of drawes redy brought to Heriford, at 6s 8d a dozen, only one 4d abatted in the whole 20 dozen:	3li 13s
	Paid my cosin John Walsh of the Moore for ashen crops and faggotts, in all:	6li 4s 6d
wood 13li 17s 6d	Paid a man of Kinsson for 400 of kids or smale faggotts:	30s
chare- coles 3li 4s	More paid for 2 waine loades of cole at 16s & 18s:	34s
in all for wood & cole 17li 1s 6d	To the carier for bringinge downe bookes & picktures: For carriage of a letter to Mr Richard Stockwall to London:	6d
	Gave a poore womanne—1d; for washinge—4d:	2d
	Paid for mowing all the 3 meddows at Ailstrey:	5d
	To hay makers in all [deletion] there:	15s 2d
mowing & hay making at Ailston, somme 48d [sic] 10d	Paid Mr Henry Mellin for car[ry]ing home of 14 loades, at 18d a lod:	12s
	Gave his man for well loadinge[?] the waine:	21s
	For an ounce of whited brown thrid:	8d
	Given to Sir Robert Whittneys keeper, brought me half a buck from the knight:	4d
		5s

¹⁰⁵ Marcus Junianus Justinus, *The history of Justine: Containing a narration of kingdomes, from the beginning of the Assyrian monarchy unto the raigne of the Emperour Augustus... by that famous historiographer Justine, and now againe newly translated into English by G. W.* (London, 1606). Justin, author of *Philippic History*, was active in the second century CE. His work was supposed to be an abridgement of the *History of The World*, by Trogus Pompeius. Burich, *Alexander the Great*, xx.

¹⁰⁶ Mary Stuart, princess royal, eldest daughter of Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria. She was married to William II [1626–1650], son of Frederick Henry, the Prince of Orange in 1641, at only nine years of age. M. Keblusek, 'Mary, princess royal (1631–1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 29 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18252>].

shuing	For shuing the coache mares & the>grai< mare & nagge:	5s
26	Gave Dick Dekins, brought letters from Homcastle:	4d

81li 2s 8d tru cast

1642	Heryford dissbursments	[f.50v]
August		
26	To the cowper for work—6d; for a stable paile—16d:	22d
wages	Paid Bes Goulding a quarters wages due at Lamas>1642<:	5s
usse	Paid her a quarters usse for 22li 10s due at Lamas, 16[42]:	9s
September	Gave Ellinor Tomkins, the midwyfe, at	
3	the cristening of Mr Thomas Church his daughter,	
criste[n]-	Margitt, and cristening of his sister Hobsons childe	
ings	of London, called Elyzabeth, cristened at one tyme:	1s
	Gave Mrs Hobsonnes childes nurce, Mrs Pitt of Howlmer:	1s
4	Gave James Mearick of Homcastle:	6d
to bye	#Paid to Mr [blank] Mailard, mercer, in Heriford,	
armor	by a lewne laid upon the citty of Heryford,	
9	towards the biinge of armor and weapons & artillery,	
	to streinthen the citty against the Parliament,	
9	# ¹⁰⁷ and Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, rec hit also:	20s
10	Paid Mrs Elyner Wednester, 2 yeares usse for	
Mrs Eli-	50li stock that I doo sett fourth for her, due June 15, 1642:	8li
nor Wed-	Paid for mending and scowring the kitchin jack:	1s
nester	Sent Elyzabeth Acton, to give the servants at Garnons,	
	when she was sick there:	5s
16	Gave my cosin Brabazons man of Eyton, brought venison:	18d
20	For a paier of woostid stockins for Elyzabeth Acton:	5s 10d
E Acton	For an elle and a yeard of fine holand for E Actons	
	3 necke handkerchers:	14s
sowldier	I paid John Trahern, my sowldier for the citty of Heriford,	
	7 daies traini[n]g with his captain, Mr Richard Wiggmore:	10s
21	Gave Mr Edward Wallwin, when he paid me money:	1s
Munkland	Gave Edward Munckland, tailer, when he went to sowldier:	6d
sowldier	Gave Mrs Rogers, widdow, 1s; for cucumber seed—3d:	15d
21	Gave Mr Geeres manne that went for my trunk from	
	Heriford:	1s
	Paid for cariage of a blue & red bundle of mohere	
	from London to make me a petycote—10 yeards—	
	and gould lace to trim hit 3 tymes abowt:	6d
mares	Paid for 2 leaps for my greate coatch mare,	
	and my gray mare, of Mr Shewards & Mr Brabazon	
	horses:	5s

¹⁰⁷ In the manuscript this symbol was used to indicate the relationship between these two items of information: Messrs Mailard and Meredith both collected the cash.

sope at Bristoll	Paid Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, of Heriford, for 700 weight of sope, at 27s the 100 weight: Item—for a barrill, and the cariage from Bristoll to Heriford:	27s 2s 8d
shuing again	Paid for Mathias [Rufford's] bill, of the 17 of August, 1642, to Phillip Coocke, for shuing my gray mare and gray nagge rownd, at 18d a peece:	3s
gunpow- der sowldier	For a pown of gunnpowder, I know not [what] becam[e] off: Paid againe to Mathias Rufford, which he saieth he paid to John Trahern for 7 daies train[i]ng at 20d a dai: For a boke called The Scottish Scowt: ¹⁰⁸	20d 10s 6d
goodes loded	Paid Edward Parsons of Heriford, for helping to carry my goods out of my howse in Heriford to the cart that brought hit to Killkinton, for feare of the coming of the Parliaments army from Worcester to Heriford:	1s 3d
goods	Gave an other man for helping in the same worlk [work]: Paid Edward Stefens, carier, for cariing away my trunks & boxes and bedding, from Heriford to Killkinton:	25s
nagge kings rent	Paid for the gray naggess meate, that night Mr [blank] Burgill rod on him towards Garnons; paid it in Heriford: Paid the kings bailiff, one yeares cheeffe rent for John Prichetts howse, due only at Mickmas: And for an aquittance for the same:	6d 18d 4d
11	Paid Mathias Rufford, which he laied out to redeeme my 2 black bever hatts & 2 gould bands, out of the theefes or plunderers hand; they toke [them] at Garnons:	21s 6d
in the cole howse	Gave a carpinder, to pass over my standerd powles, when the sowldiers would had them to barricade Widmarsh Gate:	4d

17li 0 2d tru cast

1642	Heryford dissbursments	[f.] 51
October		
29	Paid the Widdow Bidleston, baker, of Heryford,	
rent	6 months rent for my cosin Janes howse, due at Micklmas, 1642; by Mathias Rufford paid:	20s

¹⁰⁸ L. D., *The Scots Scouts discoveries: by their London intelligencer. And presented to the Lords of the Covenant of Scotland, Anno Domini 1639* (London, 1642).

shuing	Paid the smith in the Broad Streete, for work donne to your coache mares before they were lost and to your gray mare and nagge: ¹⁰⁹	4s
	Sent my cosin Jane Gorton by Mathias Rufford:	6d
November	Gave a madde woeman called Mrs Vaughan:	4d
17	For a quier of browne paper:	3d
at Hinton. wages	Paid Elyzabeth Gouldinge a quarters wages due to her at Alholandtide, 1642:	5s
	Paid ould Mrs Flatcher, widdow, half a years rent for her half part of my ould howse in Widmarsh Streete in Herifford, due at Micklmas, 1642:	30s
rent—I sent it by her man	I sent Bes Newton, by Thomas Harris, to bye provision for 4 sowlidiers that dietted at my howse:	10s
30	Paid Mrs Carpinder of Hinton for 7 weecks chamber rent & finge when I durst not be seene:	3li 10s
boording Hintton	More paid, 1 weecks rent more, due on St Andrews Eve, Tewsdays November 29, 1642; I paid it on the day ¹¹⁰ :	10s
29 30	I paid Mrs Carpinder of Hinton, one weecks chamber rent, due Desember 7th, 1642:	10s
4li paid in all	And for one weecke more the day I cam away to Garnons to sojorn, Desember 14, 1642:	10s
now 5li in all	I gave Mr John Carpinders daughter, Grace, when I cam a way—3s; & to Martha Shipman—2s 6d:	5s 6d
at Hinton	Gave Joseph their sonne—1s; & Sarahe Gullopher—1s:	2s
	Katerine and Anne, the maids—4s; William Nickson—2s:	6s
	Gave Richard Hoskins & William, the hindes:	2s
Tho Rowles Tewsdays morning	Paid Thomas Rowles, a neyghbour at Hinton, for keeping my beds & trunks & boxes from the plunderers from October 4 to Desember 14, 1642:	20s
Desember	Gave Wenlon, my cosin Humfrey Beringtons man, for driving my coache & me from Hinton to Garnons:	2s 6d
14 I cam to Garnons	Gave Owin, Mr Geeres his man, for leading the horses:	1s
to sojorn Kilkinton	Gave Martha Shipman at Garnons again:	6d
	I cam to Kilkinton to my cosin Penreeses howse from Heriford, for feare of the Parliaments army, September 23, 1642; dissbursed there as foloweth;	
27	the 27 I cam from thence to Mr Geeres at Garnons.	
Tewsdays night	I gave my cosin Penreece, when I cam away, for my howse roome and fier that tyme:	40s
30	Friday the 30, the Parliaments army cam to Herifford from Worster; Henry Gray, Earle of Stanford, the generall. ¹¹¹	

¹⁰⁹ It is not clear why Joyce used 'your' in referring to the horses in this entry.

¹¹⁰ The phrase 'I paid it on the day', has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

¹¹¹ Henry Grey, first Earl of Stamford, parliamentary army officer. In August, 1642 he received commissions in the parliamentary army of the Earl of Essex. He was dispatched on 30 September

Henry Gray	On Tewsdays morning, October 4, Captain Hamonne ¹¹²	
October	& his barbarous company plundered Mr Geerses	
4	howse at Garnons, both them and me of much	
2 coache	goods; toke a way my 2 bay coache mares & som	
mares	money & much linin & Elyzabeth Actons clothes.	
4	I cam from Garnons the same Tewsdays to Mr	
Hinton	John Garpinders to Hinton, a mile off, and staid	
10 weecks	there till the 14 of Desember following. I paid	
	Mrs Carpinder 10s a weck for my howse roome	
	and fier, & fownd my self & company diet:	5li
Desember	I gave to their daughter Grace Hinton:	3s
14	Gave Martha Shipman—2s 6d; to Joseph Hinton—1s:	3s 6d
I cam away	Gave Sarah Gullafer—1s; to Katern & Anne—4s:	5s
to Garnons	Gave William ¹¹³	
wages	Deliverd Thomas Harris, my servant, in part of wages:	5s
12li 14s 7d tru cast ¹¹⁴		

1642	Heryford dissbursments and elce where	[f. 51v]
Desember		
16	Gave Docter Harfords man when I was sick:	2s 6d
at	Paid for a matt to putt by my bed side:	20d
Garnons	Elyzabeth Acton gave the sowldier that was hurt:	1s
	She gave, as from me, to ould Joane & Owin of Garnons:	1s
	I sent Cristian and Francis at Garnons, after	
	I was com from thence to Hinton, abowt Alholand:	2s
	Gave Susan Garnons at Hinton:	6d
	Gave an other of the men of Garnons:	6d

to Hereford, declaring himself governor on 2 October. He as appointed general in the absence of Essex on December 13, and evacuated Hereford the following day. A. J. Hopper, 'Grey, Henry, first earl of Stamford (c. 1599–1673)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 26 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11537>].

¹¹²Robert Hammond, parliamentary army officer, was captain of the life guard to the Lord General of the parliamentary army, the Earl of Essex. He was promoted to major in Edward Massey's regiment in 1644. G. E. Aylmer, 'Hammond, Robert (1620/1–1654)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 29 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12161>]. Hammond was educated at Magdalene Hall, Oxford, matriculating on 20 May 1636, aged 15. As a distinguished soldier and parliamentary colonel, he became governor of the Isle of Wight in 1647, and M.P. for Reading 1654–5; he died in Dublin on 24 October, 1654. J. Foster ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, Volume II (Oxford, 1891), 640.

¹¹³This entry finishes here.

¹¹⁴The figures for this folio as given above actually total £18 6s 1d.

my cosin	I gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys at Hinton>at< twice:	15s
Harbert	Gave a wench, brought a letter to Hinton:	2d
Jeffrey		
wages	Paid Jane Hill, my maid at Garnons, half	
Jane Hill	a yeares wages, due to her Desember 6, 1642:	11s
27	I sent by my good frend, Mr Francis Geeres	
sowldiers	the yonger, to Mr Coningesby to pay sowldiers	
	at Heriford, as a present:	50li
	& a fatt bullock worth 6li, also of a present:	6li
28	I gave at New Yeares tide to the ser[v]ants at	
January	Garnons, to Francis and Cristian:	2s
1	Gave Sarah, the day maid—1s; & ould Joane—6d:	18d
	Gave Mrs Susan Garnons—6d; & George, the boy—6d:	1s
	Gave Francis, when she brought home my	
Twelf	box to Hinton:	6d
Eve	Gave to Ned for cutting wood for my chamber:	6d
5	Gave to the wassell, for the bailiff & the hinds:	6d
Worcester	Sent to my cosin James Bridges of Worces[ter],	
	mercier, by his man Francis [deletion] Baddam,	
10li paid	to disscharge a bill of wares, in part a hercoller	
now	taffitey gown trimmed with gould & silver lace	
5 day	& a tuffe gowne for my self, and 100 weight	
& 6li more	of powder shuger & peper & cloves & mace,	
my cosin	and many other thinges to the value of 17li odd	
John Walsh	money; I sent by Baddam in part now:	10li
is to pay of	Item—6li more I alowed my cosin John Walsh	
money he	to pay him—I meane my cosin James Bridges:	6li
oweth me	Item—I gave Mrs Kingman & Alice Bullock:	1s
7	And 1s more I lost owt of my pockett:	1s
I paid	I paid Mr Anthony Sheldon, stuard to Mr Roger	
also 20s	Bodnam of Rotheras, half a yeares rent for William	
for my cosin	Eyshams howse in Widmarsh Streete, due at	
Walsh	Micklmas, 1642, which William Eysham should pay:	20s
	I gave, against Cristmas 1642, to my cosin	
	Jane—6d; and Mr Rufford deliverd her—1s:	18d
	Gave my cosin Blunt & his wyfe then:	1s
	To Goody Watis, Goody Smith & Mary Powell:	3s
	Paid Goody Baddam for washing buckings:	6d
rent cap-	I paid Mr Sheldon rent for 2 fatt capon,	
pons	due to Mr Bodenham, by William Eysham:	2s
poore of	Sent to Millson, by Margret Booton, to Mr Pitts,	
Nene	half a yeares maintainance for the poore of Nene	
Solers	Sollers, due at Alholand tide, 1642:	8s
paid	Paid Mr Rufford for 2 frogge locks & kayes:	8d
	For cariage home of sertaine drawes from the cannon	
	backhowse which the Ear[l]e of Stanford toke from me:	6d

	For carriage of my wood from my ould howse to my new howse:	6s 4d
poore of Al Saints	For an alminack of this yeare, 1643:	2d
paid	To the poore of Alholands, due at Cristmas, 1642, a quarter:	2s

76li 9s tru cast

1642 Heryford dissbursments & else where [f.] 52

January feare of the plunders	Gave Goody Lawrence, for keeping clothes of myne & Elyzabeth Actons in the hill, for feare:	1s
	For a shue for my gray mare at Bullin Bank:	4d
7	Paid the man of the Fethers for 4 cariges of my boords from the Lords Stanffords lodging at Mrs Wardins howse in Heriford:	2s
my cosin Jane Gorton rent	Mr Rufford delivered my cosin Jane from me: Paid Mrs Anne Fletcher, widdow, on[e] yeares reht, being the on[e] half of 6li due for the howse I dwell in, in Widmarsh Streete, Heriford, due at Micklmas last past, 1642:	1s 3li
the first 14	The other 3li I paid ould Mrs Fletcher at twice. Rece of Mr James Scrivener of Heriford, 6 months usse for 20li, due Desember 23, 1642.¹¹⁵	16s
	Paid ould Reece, the tailer, for makinge up my new stamill petycote, & bordering my cloth gown:	2s
rent 14	Paid the yong Widdow Fletcher, onne yeares rent for my howse in Widmarsh Streete, due at Micklmas, 1642, her mother in law had the other half:	3li
15	For 7 neeldes—2d; give a poore woeman—1d:	3d
for me	Bought at Heriford by Elyzabeth Acton for me:- Imprimis—one elle of dowlas: one hank of fine sisters thrid: one elle of holand for gorgits: 2 elle of fine lawnde cambrick for a ruffe: for half a yeard of red serge to border my new bastard scarlet [?] petycote that ould Reece made: for a yeard of russet fustian for pockets & for the wast band: one quarter of an ounce of silk to sow on the lace: one yeard of loope lace—blak—to hang my whistle: one elle of tawny ferritt riband for 2 points:	2s 6d 6d 3s 4d 14s 14d 16d 6d 2d 4d

¹¹⁵ Joyce appears to have made this entry initially in the wrong book; it appears in the receipt book under 14 January 1642/3.

	4 ounces of whitted browne thrid:	18d
	one pownd of resings of the sonne:	5d
	2 ounces of nuttmeeggs—10d; ginger, 2 ounce—2d:	1s
26s 10d	black thrid—1d:	1d
Elyza	For Elyzabeth Acton, a paier of whalebon bodies:	5s
Acton	For one yeard & a half of scarlet bayes	
	to make her a wastcoate to dress her in, at 3s 6d a yeard:	5s 3d
	For 4 yeards of red galoone lace to binde him:	13d
	For 6 yeards of dowlas for her 2 smocks at	
	2s 2d a yeard:	13s
	For a new tafitey whood of George the pedler:	3s 4d
	Given Mrs Rogers, against Cristmas:	1s
	Given to my cosin Jane Gorton then:	6d
	Holand for her aperne—5s; a velvett maske—14d: ¹¹⁶	6s 2d
	A paier of gloves—14d; a knife & shethe—6d:	20d
	A black fether fanne and silver handle:	3s 4d
20	A paier of elow silk garters:	18d
	Given William, Mr Geereses man, for going	
43s 4d	for Docter Harford [deletion] when I was sick at Garnons:	18d
for her 50s 10d	Item—Elyzabeth Acton had, to play at cards and	
	other expenses of out of the 4li I sent by her to	
	Heriford: ¹¹⁷	7s 6d
	I paid Elyzabeth Goulding a quarters	
	wages, due to her at Candlmas, 1642:	5s
31	Paid her one quarters usse for her 22li 10s stocke,	
wages &	due to her at Candlmas also, 1642:	9s
usse paid		

7li 18s 3d tru cast 1642

1642	Heryford dissbursments and else where	[f. 52v]
February		
February		
1	I payd Bes Goulding, in part of the	
stock	22li 10s which I owed her, in part of the purchas	
20li	of her howse in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford:	50s
behinde	Given Mrs Katerin Cox her woman, that cam	
all paid	to Elyzabeth Acton when she was sik:	1s
wages	Paid Joyse Simons, 2 quarters wages, videlicet,	
J Simons	due at Micklmas and at Cristmas, 1642:	20s
10	Item—lent her to bye bonlace at Garnons:	3s
12	Given the keepers wyfe of Erdisley, brought ven[i]son:	1s

¹¹⁶See also fn to f. 25v.

¹¹⁷Joyce later gave Mathias Rufford money to play cards—see f. 56v.

13	Given Charles Wallwin, brought a whole salmon from his father, Mr Edward Wallwin, to Garnons:	1s
14	Gave Mrs Margery Driver, midwyfe to yong Mrs Geeres at Garrnons, when she delivered her of a sonne that was named Thomas:	10s
she went a way midwyfe & nurce	Gave Goodwyfe Towne of Bridge, the nurce then:	10s
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to give the midwyfe then:	2s
15	Gave Mrs Phillip Baskerville, my god daughter:	10s
at Garnons	Paid for makinge Elyzabeth Acton a scarlet bayes wastcote:	16d
16	Paid Mr Hennry Powle of Leominster, one yeares cheeffe rent d	
musskit & band	Paid Mr Richard Llewelin for a musskitt:	24s
[?]	Paid Mathias Rufford a quarters wages, due at Cristmas, 1642, at Garnons: ¹¹⁸	20s
17		
wages	Paid Thomas Bedford, my servant, half a yeares wages, due befor Candlmas, 1642:	30s
T Bedford	Gave Mr Garnons, an unthrifty gentlman:	4d
18	Paid ould Reece for making me a long flanill wastcote:	8d
20	Gave Elyzabeth Winny, my ould servant:	1s
March	Gave an ould man called Cowcomme at Bennyes howse:	6d
4	Sent my cosin Jane Gorton, when she was sick:	6d
15 7	Gave Goody Benies 2 daughters, when I dined there:	1s
7	Gave ould Elynor for cariinge Daisy to Heriford: ¹¹⁹	6d
14	Paid Mr Franncis Geerse, the elder, of Garnons: 1 quarters diett for my self, ending March 14, 1642; more, paid 1 quarter for Elyzabeth Actons table then:	3li 15s
for diett at Garnons	Paid more for my maid Joyse Simons diet this quarter, ending March 14, 1642:	50s
14	Item—Bes Goulding was heare part of a quarter & Mathias Rufford somme tymes, for which I gave Mrs Geeres, for her goodwill:	
12li 5s	This Monday morning the men of Litle Maunsell and all this contrey of Heryford shere went to Rosse to meete the other armmy, and I gave them:	[deletion] 1s
27	Bought of Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, of Herifford:- 2 yeards quarter of broad cloth, to make Thomas Harris a shute against he went out of my service to serve with Mr William Rudhall of Rudhale:	23s
army	4 dozen of Parris buttons—silk—& 2 flatt buttons:	18d
27	one yeard & a half of canvas—20d; tape—3d:	23d
Thomas Harris shute	5 yeards of fine pinet [pinked?] busstian, 2s 2d a yard:	5s 10d

¹¹⁸ The words 'at Garnons' have been written above the line drawn to finish the entry, and Joyce has indicated that they should have been placed after 'wages'.

¹¹⁹ Daisy may have been an animal or pet of some kind. See again on f. 56.

a quarter & half of sowing silk—9d; clasps & past—4d:	13d
loope lace—1d; 3 yards half of 6d riband—[21d]:	22d
1 paier of belly pieces & 2 pocketts:	1s
half a yeard of callicow—8d; half a quarter of stuffe to line the skirt—5d:	13d
Paid Davy Kill 7 [days?] for making his shute:	5s
I gave Thomas Harris towards a new paier of bootes:	5s
Paid him for som tyme more then his quarters wages:	5s

24li 6s 1d tru cast

1642 Heryford disbursements, 1642 [f.] 53

March

19

the charge
of my cosin
Jane Gortons
buriall

Kilkinton

I fownd
my self
dielt

Gave Tom of the Cott, braught a letter from Elyzabeth Newton that Bes Munckland had robbed me:	4d
Gave Mr Tokeley, vicker of Litle Mauncell for my offerings at the comunion on Ester Day, and Elizabeth Acton, Mathias Rufford & Joyse Simons:	2s 6d
Gave Katern Preece for bringing stuff from Heriford:	6d
The shrowd, being 5 yards & a half of white calicow at 11d a yeard, cost—5s; tape to bind about hit—3d. ¹²⁰	5s 3d
2 yards of blak moorning riband for her 2 daughters, Elyzabeth Munckland and Margrete Coocke:	2s
Item—for cakes—1s; bred—7d; wine—16d; suger—4d:	3s 3d
For beere, besides my owne, with cheece & bred:	15d
For ringing 5 pealles—3s 6d; the homiley—1s:	4s 6d
For buriing her corps in the litle church yeard at the Minster:	4d
For opening the grownd in the litle church yeard, and making the grave adjoining to the coledge cloister:	14d
For bringing downe the beere to her howse:	4d
Gave Goody Reece, the clarks wife, and John Prichet to drinke:	4d
Gave Goodwyfe Sage for helping to shroud & dress the corps:	6d
To the smith in the Broad Streete for shuing my gray mare:	2s 6d
I cam to Killinton September 23, 1642, from Heriford, for feare of the Parliaments army, and I cam from thence to Garnons, to Mr Francis Geeres his howse, 27 [September], 1642; I gave my cosin Penreece when I cam from Kilkinton, for my howse room and fier: ¹²¹	40s

¹²⁰ Corpses in this period were bound in a shroud or winding sheet, tied at both ends; P. Cunnington and C. Lucas, *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (London, 1972), 160.

¹²¹ It is unclear why only part of this sentence has been deleted.

	I lent Mr Francis Geers, the yonger, to go in to Wales, after his fathers howse was plundered & a man kild:	40s
Hinton	Dissburced for provision of mete while I was at Hinton, besides much meat & powltry from Bradard, & whete and mault I know not how much; I cownt but what I bought there in fresh mete, [?]ges, chikins, ect [etc.]:	41s
a trunk pewtered brass	To Stefens, the carier, for cariing half a cart load of stuff of myne from Garnons to Heriford:	2s 6d
	Elyzabeth Newton paid so much more for her trunks, etc.	
18	For 6 pownd of white starch:	2s
31	For 2 huswyfes pownds of wick yearn to make lights, part sent me to Garnons, at 18d & 20d a lb:	3s 2d
wages	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coache man, one quarters wages, due abowt Holirood Day, 1643:	15s
Tho Bed- ford sowldier	Paid John Traehern, my citty sowldier under Captain Richard Wiggmor, in full payment of his due in training tyme:	10s
31	Paid Biglstonne for one daies work more at Ailston:	8d
tyning & ditching	Paid Whooper, the dogge coocke, for one daie in helping to forttify the castle walle in Heriford:	4d
31	For inke—1d; gave Mrs Elyzabeth Russels boy, brought 10 chikins—4d:	5d
Worcester	Bought of my cosin James Bridges of Worcester, mercer, in May last, the 20th day, 1642, as followeth:- Imprimis—for 6 elles demy of riche tafity, hearculler, to make Elyzabeth Acton a gowne at 13s a yeard: for gowld and sillver lace to trimme the gownd and petycote—26 yeards, weeing 6 ounce and 1 quarter, at 5s 10d the ounce:	4li 4s 6d
	gould and sillver loope lace, 4 yeards:	36s
	4s 6d	
	silk to sow the gownd gowne & petycote—1 ounce:	2s
	1 yeard demy of riband—9d; thrid—4d:	13d
	cannvas—18d; buckram—9d:	2s 3d
	whalbon—9d; serge—16d;>white< calicow, 1 elle—2s 6d:	4s 7d

13li 14s 9d tru cast

1642	Heryford disbursements	[f. 53v]
March		
31	for culled calycow—1 yeard demy:	18d
tafity	for 8 yeards of riband—4s; 1 yeard riband—2d:	4s 2d
gowne	more, buckram—4d; a rowle—2s, a busk—4d:	2s 8d
this gowne	To John Tailor ¹²² of Worcester for making	
was plunderd	this gowne and petycote of here culled	
at [?]	tafitey for Elyzabeth Acton, May 20th last past:	14s
som totall	For a box to cary the gown to Heriford:	1s
7li 18s 3d	More bought of my cosin James Bridges,	
tamiletto	August 23, 1642, 16 yeards of broad black	
for me	tamiletto, to make my self—J J—a gowne and	
	petycote, at 4s 2d a yeard:	3li 6s 8d
	For caridge of hit from Worcester to Heriford:	6d
	More bought of my cosin James Bridges by when	
	Elyzabeth Acton and Mr Francis Geerce were at	
	Worcester, March 31, 1643, for me—J J—as foloweth:-	
31	Imprimis—for a shuger loffe, weight 8lb & 3 ounces, to	
	give yong Mrs Geerce, when I fownd to her sonne,	
	Thomas, at 15d a pound:	10s 3d
blue	for 8 ounces of good coventry blue thrid to marke linen:	3s 4d
thrid 5d	holand for 2 aperns-2 elles half & half quarters at	
an ounce	at 5s an elle—13s 2d; a steeling iron—16d:	14s 6d
	a setting stick—6d; 28 yeards of hearlace incle—11d:	17d
	for 12 elles of fine broad dowlas, 2s 10d an elle:	34s
	8 ounce of red and black thrid, 16d: a	16d
	for 20 yeards of white dimity fustian:	20s
31	for a heath brush—1s; 7 yeards of tawny	
kersey	kersey to give Bes Goulding for her wedding	
for Bes	gowne—24s 6d:	25s 6d
Goulding	more for 32 powndes of London sope, blak, at 4d a	
	pound:	10s 8d
	for 6 pownd of castle sope at 8d a pownd:	4s
	for 12 yeards of tyfany at 2s 4d the yeard:	28s
	for 6 pownd of powder blue at 13d a pownd:	6s 6d
	fine sisters thrid to sow the tifany ruffles—2:	9d
	nuttmeggs, 4 ounces—16d; ginger, 8 ounces—8d:	2s
	whitted browne thrid, 8 ounces—3s 6d; a bagge—4d:	3s 10d
	for a heath brusse—1s; gave Elyzabeth Acton to go to	
	Wor[ces]ter:	5s 1s ¹²³

¹²² Joyce was probably referring to Thomas Tailor of Worcester, who appears elsewhere in the accounts.

¹²³ Here Joyce appears to have included the price of both items separately rather than giving a final total.

lent	I lent Anthony Aldridge, mason, when he workt at my new howse in Heriford, which he will never pay:	1s
prosses	Paid Mr Henry Blackwell, when he was undersheriff of Heriford shere, for his feese when the Lady Grizell Points, widdow, served me with a writt for cutting 3 cart loades of withies in the Cobnalls meadow: ¹²⁴	5s
a lisenche	I paid to Mr Lawrance the cownceler, deceased, in his life tyme, for drawing a lisenche that yonge Mr Roger Bodnam of Rotheras should give leave to William Eysham of Heriford, tanner, to putt over his stables to me, Joys Jeffreys; but he never did & I lost my money:	2s 6d
law	I deliverd Mathias Rufford to take cowncell at Ludlow, in my cosin Anne Notts busines at on[e] tyme:	10s
chardges	And I paid more, a bill of charges against Bishop,	30s
forgott	in the same shute which I never had againe:	& better
till now	Paid Elyzabeth Munkland for a pewter dish, which my good sister Freeman gave her, & she sould hit for:	20d
pewter dish	Sent to Maude Pritchett, by Mathias Rufford, 3 quarters usse for 10li, that she deliverd me to sett foorth for her dawghter, Elinor Prichett:	12s
I paid	Spent in my howse in Heryford the whole yeare abowt, ending ont [sic] St Mary Eve, 1642; I went out of towne the 30 of September, 1642, & cam no more that yeare, but had many souldiers of his & Sir William Wallers billeted at my howse in Heriford for nothing; som spent:	71li 2s 7d
in her 10li also	Dissburced and spent at Bradward the whole yeare abowt, ending on St Mary Eve, 1642, in biing of som cattell for the grownd, and workmens wages, and throshing, harvesting, howse keeping there, servants wages, and all other work whatsoever:	130li 2s 10d ob

217li 10s 2d ob tru cast

1642	Heryford dissbursments & ells where	[f.] 54
March		
31	Somme totall disburssed at Heryford the whole yeare past, endinge onne St Mary Evee, 1642, and Bradward also:	588li 12s 10d ob

¹²⁴ Joyce also fell foul of the city authorities. In October, 1640, along with Henry Wellington, she was fined by the city court for 'encroshing upon the kings high way by laying of timber in the street to the hinderance of his majesties passengers'. HAS BG11/4/5 Tourn Court Records 1625-42, October, 1640. This may have been the wood she had moved to Hereford in June, 1640, f. 38.

1643

Aprill

1

**New disbursement begining the first of Aprill 1643
written at Mr Frann[c]is Geerce, his howse, called Garnons,
for the whole yeare following, until
this tyme twelv month, 1644.**

Mathias Rufords disbursements

16	Imprimis—for a shuger loffe weeing 7 pownd demy, at 15 a lb:	9s 5d
20	Mathias Rufford spent goinnge to Worcester then: For mending and stuffing his sadle then: For mutton & other meate, when se[r]vitaw Mager [Major] Baterstree supt at my howse in Heriford with	6d 8d
May	Mrs Elyzabeth Acton and Mr Rufford: & for a loine of vele an other tyme, & a cheece there:	18d 2s 8d
usse Mrs Williams	Paid Mrs Alis Williams of Heriford, widdow, one yeares usse for 100li I owe her, due May 11th, 1643:	8li
June	To William Dunne, barber, a quarters maintenance for the poore in Heryford, due at Ester last: Paid for 2 costes of vele & a brest of mutton for Elyzabeth Acton & the rest at Heriford: Paid Chamberlein, the butcher, of Heriford, a bill for meate the last winter for souldiers & my folks:	2s 15d 11s 8d
rent	Paid the Widdow Beedlston, half a yeares rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at St Mary Day>1643<:	20s
Nathaniell	Paid Mathew Benny, the smith by Garnons, for putting one [on] 4 new shuse for my gray nagge:	16d
coults	To Hugh Watkins for 4 removes for the same nagge:	4d
ale paid	For 4 new shuse for the black coults called Wallis:	16d
in March.	For a halter to goe to the faier with the coults	
coults sould	when he was sould at Bromyard:	3d
Wallis	For 2 new shuse at Leominster for my gray nagge: Paid Richard Winnye, smith, for mending lokes and kayes at Heriford, which the plunderers broake:	8d 16d
29	Paid for 20 elles of flaxen cloth at Leominster faier, at 2s 9d an elle, a yeard & half broad: ¹²⁵	2li 15s
St Peeters Day	Paid Mary Collins n	

¹²⁵ Three fairs have been recorded at Leominster: two fairs established by charter, the first at the Feast of St Peter and Paul [29 June] and the second at the Feast of St Philip and St James [1 May]; and a fair established by grant at the Feast of St Michael Archangel [29 September]. Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>; [Leominster] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006).

1643	My disbursements at Garnons	
Aprill	I gave ould Elinor for bringing stuff from Heriford:	3d
15	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to goe to Heriford:	5s
20	Paid ould>Reece< the tailer, for making me a new white dimity wastcote bownd with white inckle:	8d
20	Item—for tur bordering and binding with galoone lace mr g[r]eene mohere peticote, to ould Reece:	1s
T Rowles	Gave Thomas Rowles of Hinton, for carring a load of stuff to his howse from Garnons:	2s 6d
	Goodwife Stefens, alias Cap, for one nights lodging at her howse in [blank] Hill, for feare of the sowldiers:	18d
26	Gave John Cap, for helping to load Rowleses cart of my stuff:	1s
	For 4 yeards of hearculler ferrit riband:	8d
	Paid Joyce Simons a quarters wages, due at St Mary Day, 1643:	10s
28	Gave a sowldier that cam to Garnons with John Prichett:	6d
May 5	Gave ould Elinore of Wales, that brought Daysy from Heriford to Garnons:	4d
7	I spent in ale & cakes at Bennyes howse:	1s
poore of Nene Solers paid	Delivered Mathias Rufford to send to Mr Edward Pitts, parson of Nene Solers & Millson, for one half yeare maintainance for the poore there, due May 3, 1643:	8s
11 29 11 poore of Nene Solers paid	Gave John Caps wenche, brought strawberries>&< a salit:	4d
12		

15li 2s 8d tru cast

1643	Heriford disbursements & Garnons	[f. 54v]
May		
13	Gave Goodwyfe Towne, of Bridge, litle Thomas Geerces nurse:	1s
16	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to give Owine[?] of Garnons:	1s
meate	For a loine of vele, when I toke physic at Garnons:	1s
16	Gave Anne Aylway, when she cam to see me at Garnons:	1s
usse	Gave my cosin Thomas Eaton, out of 16s usse money:	6s
	For a quarter of a yeard of silk galoone & silk to sow:	1d
ale	Paid for ale at Benies howse, for Richard Chamberlain:	2d
24	Paid the man of the Fethers in Heriford, for bringing [blank] trunks & [blank] cheste from Heriford to	
Saturday	George Edwards howse in Litle Mauncell, to keepe:	6s
27	Gave Thomas Bedford, my coach man, the same tyme:	1s
stuff	Gave ould Joane of Garnons, for doing charge[?]s for me:	6d
27	Gave Elyzabeth Acton, and etc:	10s

28	Gave a poore woeman of [deletion] Bridge:	1d
	Sent Caps wyfe, when shee was sick:	6d
June	Gave my cosin William Conyngesby, with the one eye:	1s
5	Gave Jane Towne of Bridge, the nurses daughter,	
pigions	that braught me 8 pigions from her mother:	6d
7	Gave an other poore woeman—1d; & Kitt Stefens—2d:	3d
12	For tawny silk lace to trym Elyzabeth Winny	
Elyzabeth	a tawny kersey gowne that I gave her to her weding;	
Winny	the cloth I paid for befor as is written in this	
the cloth	booke, March 31 last, 1642, and stiffening also:	11s 3d
cost 25s	I gave her to pay for the making>of< the gowne:	5s 6d
6d in	So the whole gounne stands me in 42s 3d.	
March last	I sent Mrs Francis Rogers, widdow, when	
totall 42s 3d	she was sick at Heriford of the sicknes she died off:	1s
of the goun	Paid Mrs Millborow ¹²⁶ Larance of Heriford, for	
2 ruffes	making me 2 tyfany ruffes:	6s
16	Gave 2 fidlers at the sheepshering at Garnons:	6d
quarters	Paid ould Mr Francis Geerce of Garnons, for	
diet	my owne quarters died [diet], due June 14, 1643:	5li
19	For a quarters diett for Elyzabeth Actons diet:	3li 15s
19	For a quarters diet for Joyse Simons, due June 14:	50s
phisick	Gave Docter Harford for his cowncell in phisick:	6li
20	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to goe to Heriford faier:	5s
the faire	Gave Joyse Simons, my maid, for a fairing then:	1s
wages	Paid Joyse Simons a quarters wages, due at	
J Simons	Midsomer, 1643:	10s
meate	For a legge of mutton for the folks at Heriford:	1s
to thier	Gave the 3 maides at Garnons—Sarah, Blainch &	
fairing	Margitt:	3s
	Gave ould Joane Gardiner then:	6d
	Gave Mrs Susanna Garnons, to her fairing:	1s
fairing	Gave Elyzabeth, yong Mrs Geerce her maid:	1s
20	Gave Thomas Low, that brought a letter from Mrs	
26	Vaughan of Millson, to help him to an hosspitall in	
	Heriford:	1s
27	Paid for 200 of flatt headded pinnes at the faier:	6d
27	For a whole peece of hearlace tape, [blank] yeards:	1s
July	Paid Mrs Elynor Wedminster of Bromyeard, one	
Bromyeard	yeares usse for 50li, which my cosin Richard Browne	
4	oweth me, but it is Mrs Elinor Wedminsters	
	money, due June 15, 1643; Mathias Rufford paid it her:	4li

¹²⁶ Milborough is the anglicised version of the name Milburga, one of the daughters of the Mercian King Merowald, who along with her sister became a nun and was later canonised; the name could still be found in Shropshire in the eighteenth century. C. M. Yonge, *History of Christian Names*, new edition (London, 1884), cii, 427.

meate	For 3 stonne of beefe>& 13 pownd< for my servants at Heriford:	6s 6d
flesh & fish	For mutton & pese—21d; butter—10d; bred—2d; salmon—1s:	3s 9d
	Gave Elyzabeth Acton to b[u]y more provision for her at Heriford:	9s 9d
Simon Reece	Paid Simon Reece, clerck of Alholands in Heriford, for his whole years wages, due at Ester last, 1643:	8d
watching	To a man for watching a night at Widemarsh Gate:	4d
rent to Mr[s] Fletcher	Paid ould Widdow Fletcher of Blackmoore, half a yeares rent for her part of the moety of my rent of my ould howse in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford, due at St Mary Day, 1643:	30s
	Paid her daughter in law, yonge Widow Fletcher, her halfe yeares rent, due the same day, St Mary Day, 1643, for the same to rent:	30s
27	Paid Mr John Stiles of Mauncell Gamage, for a gray mare that I gave Elyzabeth Acton before she was maried:	7li

36li 5s 4d tru cast

1643	Heriford disbursements and Garnons	[f.] 55
August		
5	I gave Martha Shipman, that brought me fresh fish from Mrs Carpinder of Hinton:	6d
she brought venison from Homcastle	Gave Katern Price—6d; and Isack Robins—18d:	2s
18	I paid ould Mr Francis Geerrs of Garnons, in part of 800li porsion that I gave Elyzabeth Acton to her mariage with his second sonn,	
300li paid	Mr Francis Geers, God bless them both:	300li
Elyza Actons jointer	To Mr Thomas Edmunds of Heriford, aturreney, for drawing and ingrosing the conveiance of the land and joynture for Elyzabeth Acton:	50s
	Paid Mr Wiliam Bruges [Bridges] of Temple Coort in Bosberys parish, that he laied out to Mr Streete, a cowncelor in Worcester, for proving the draught:	10s
18	Gave Mr Bridges clarck & Mr Thomas Edmunds clark:	10s
3li 10s in feese	Memirandon—I gave my cosin Thomas Eaton of Penncombe, for his endeavour of Mardin rent:	10s
	I sent Joyce Simons, my maid, to by her somme shuger when she was sick at Heryford:	2s 6d
31	Paid ould Reece, the tailer, at Garnons, for altering my scarlet petycote and bordering my tawny fuggedged sattin gowne, and cutting the sleeves less:	3s 6d
September		

[deletion] 6	Paid the butcher for a fatt weather to present	
Elyzabeth	this bride woeman at her wedding day:	6s 6d
Acton was	Gave William Brazier, for rowinge me	
married to	over Wye and back againe, at Byfords Bott,	
Mr Francis	the 11the day of September, 1643, Monday: ¹²⁸	6d
Geers of	Gave ould Elinor for cariinge Crickett to Heriford:	6d
Garnons	Bought of my cosin James Briges of Worcest[er]	
5	the 27 of July, 1643, as followeth:-	
17 ¹²⁷	Imprimis—>fine< nunnes thrid, 2 ounce, at 3s 8d an ounce:	7s 4d
	Item—2 ounce of sisters thrid at 16d an ounce:	2s 8d
	on[e] peece of fine philletting tape—28 yards:	2s 6d
	one peece of narrow incle—26 yards:	9d
	6 yards of black sattin riband for girdles:	2s 6d
	6 yards of hear culler ferrit riband:	1s
	12 yards of crimson 3d ferrit riband:	3s
	3000 of white pinnes at 1s a thousand:	3s
	3000 of smale white pinnes, called neett pinnes:	1s 9d
	3 papers of great white flatt headed pinnies:	9d
	onne paier of wosstid hose for my self:	6s 4d
	1 ounce of black grete sowing silk for my gowne lace:	2s
	1 yeard half of white fustian to line the sleeves:	18d
	canvas—20d, a yeard; & buckram, 3 quarters—10d:	2s 6d
	black riche tafety to face hands & bosom demy yerd:	5s 9d
	serge to border—half an elle:	16d
	bone—4d; classps—1d; black riband for the kirtle—1s:	17d
	large clasps to hook up the kirtle:	2d
fruit &	powder shuger—10 pownd—at 13d a pownd:	10s 6d
sugger	resings solis—4 pownd; & corents—4lb, cost:	4s[?]
	cloves, 2 ounce—14d; large mace—22d:	3s
	white writing paper—3 quier:	18d
	tawny sowing silk—1 quarter of an ounce:	6d
25	Gave Mr Alyxander Llewelin, when he went	
	from Garnons to dwell with his uncle Mr Edmund	
	Whittington at Mathon in Worsester there:	6d

308li 2s 3d tru cast

¹²⁷ This date refers to the entry re Elinor. Crickett may well refer to Francis Mandlen als Cricket, former servant to Sir Thomas Coningsby, who, along with Joyce, witnessed his final will. NA PROB 11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby. Thomas Dingley, in his *History From Marble*, claimed that in 1683 the Great Parlour at Hampton Court contained a portrait of 'Old Sir Tho Conisbie with his Dwarfe Cricket by him'. T. Dingley, *History From Marble* [Volume 1], ed., J. G. Nichols, Camden Society (1867), ccxxxix.

¹²⁸ 'Monday' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

1643	Heryford dissbursments and Garnons	[f. 55v]
September		
30	I paid ould Mr Francis Geers of Garnons,	
diēt	one quarters diēt for me & my maid Joyse	
30	Simons, due the 14th September, 1643:	7li 10s
30	To ould Reece, the tailer, for opening the sleeves of my black serge gowne & bordering him:	16d
October	Gave my cosin William Conyngesby, with	
1	the onne eye, at Garnons:	1s
8	For inke—2d; onne pownd of starch—4d; broomes—2d:	8d
at Herifford	Gave Blainche, the coocke, at Garnons:	1s
faier	Paid Joyse Simons a quarters wages, due at Micklmas:	10s
wages	For a stript flanel cloth to put under M Ruffords saddle:	1s
cheeffe	Paid Mr George Leah, bayliffe to the kings majesties, for one yeares cheeffe rent for a howse and	
rent	gardin in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford, due at Micklmas, 1643:	18d
13	Paid the same Mr Leah for an aquittance:	4d
rent	Paid the yong Widdow Flecher, and her mother in law, half a yeares rent for ould howse that I dwelt in at Heriford, due Micklmas, 1643;	
	the yong widdow fetched it at Garnons on Lukes Day:	3li
oysters	O[y]sters—14d; gave a poore woeman of Kinersley—1d:	15d
starch	Starch againe—4d; Thomas>Bedford< bought me a	
hay	loade of hay—18s—for my stable in Heriford:	18s 4d
	Paid for altering Mrs Elyzabeth Actons> blak calimanko gownd<:	5s
Anne	Gave Anne Ailway, when she went away	
Ailway	from dwelling with my god daughter Geerce at Garnons:	3s
23	Gave Blainch, ould Mrs Geerses maid:	1s
November	Paid for 2 horse loade of charcole—16 boshell:	5s
chare-	For oysters—6d; gave Sarahe of Garnons—she went away from Mrs Geereses servis—6d; & oysters—6d: ¹²⁹	1s
cole	For 2 lether bagges to put the mariadge 300li in: ¹³⁰	6d
3	For a new bridle & a collar for my horse:	3s
at Gar-	For a curry combe—6d; & a horse lock—1s:	18d
nons	Paid Maude Prichet for a cheese when Sir William Waller was in Heriford, for his souldiers that I kept:	18d
November	Paid for 4 quier of writing paper at Worcester:	20d
	For a brest of veale & a loine of mutton for my folks:	2s 4d
herbadg	Paid William Delahay for this yeares herbadge	
	of Ailstons meddow, due at Midsomer, 1643:	18s

¹²⁹ The total for the entry suggests only one portion of oysters may have been purchased, or the total is incorrect.

¹³⁰ This £300 forms part of the £800 portion that Elizabeth Acton received on her marriage to Francis Geers junior.

wages	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coache man, half a years	
TB	wages, due a fortnight before Alholandtide, 1643:	30s
	Paid Hugh Wattkins, in the Broad Streete, for shuing	
	horses:	14d
4 coultis	Bought by James Wattis, at Harborough faier,	
bought	4 sucking bay mare coultis, with starres & white feette: ¹³¹	4li
	James Wattis spent going and cominge backe to	
	Bradward:	2s 6d
usse	Paid Mathias Rufford, half a yeares usse for 50li, which I	
	owe him upon my bond, due at Lammas, 1643, by my gift:	40s
	Mathias Rufford paid for 1 nights lodging for him &	
	James Watis in Worsestor, in July last, 1643:	16d
	They spent by the way, and at Worsester:	6d
	Gave ould Elynor, for cariinge letters to Heriford divers	
	tymes:	1s
G Edwards	Paid George Edwards of Mauncell, for letting 2 chests &	
	2 trunks stand at his howse a quarter of a yeare:	2s
12	Paid Thomas Bowker of Litle Mauncell, for a new paier	
shuse	of shuse:	2s 6d
for me	Paid Michael Hearinge of Heriford, for weaving	
	24 yards of clothe for curtaines, at 2d a yeard:	4s
weaving	Item—for weaving 10 yards of courier cloth:	18d
6	For weaving 8 yards of apern stuff to give away:	1s
7 just	Item—to him for winding the yearn:	6d
14	Gave my god daughter Mrs Phillip Baskervile	
Mrs PB	of Erdissley, when she cam to see me at Garnons:	5s
I laid	Paid by my cosin Francis Geers to Mr Mr Roger	
out 20s	Bodenham of Rotheras, esquier, half a yeares rent	
for my	for William Eyshams barn and stable, due at	
cosin Walsh	Micklmas, 1643:	20s
his rent then		
	24li 1s 11d besides my cosin	
	Walshes 20s rent tru cast	

November	Heryford dissbursments and Garnons	[f.] 56
1643		
20	Gave Goodwyfe Towne of Bridge, that brought litle	
	Tom Geerce to [deletion] Garnons on Sunday:	1s
	Gave Joane Phillips, to her clements bowle: ¹³²	1s

¹³¹ A prescriptive fair has been identified at Market Harborough, and Harrison noted that a fair was held there on 8 October. Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>: [Market Harborough] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006). Harrison, *Description of England*, 396.

¹³² See also f. 46v.

tallow	Sent to Bes Newton by Thomas Bedford from	
24	Garnons, 16s, to pay for 6 stonne of raw tallow:	16s
	Gave Martha Benny when we dined there:	6d
	Gave>John< Cocamb, the fidler there at Bennies howse:	4d
T Rowles	Paid Thomas Rowles of Hinton, in part for	
	keeping my trunks and boxes at his howse:	6s
	Gave Richard Delahay to his bead ale:	1s
	Gave a poore souldier to help him heale his head:	6d
fruite & spice	Spent by Isack Robins & James Robin Wattis when	
	they fetched my sope, sugger and fruit & spice	
	at Worcester:	6d
fier for the souldiers	Paid a lewne in Heriford towards the fier at the	
straw	gates in Heriford, for the souldiers to watch bye:	4s
	Paid William Spencer for straw which my men	
	had at Heriford the last year:	10s
sertificat	Paid for a sertificat of Mr Thomas Hackluits 800li statute,	
	acknowledged befor the maier of Heriford,	
	when I putt the statute in shute:	10s 6d
sadler	Paid Dewell, the sadler, of Heriford, a bill for	
	a head staulle & raines—16d; for 2 girths—8d:	2s
	1 girth more—4d; 2 lether sussingles—16d:	20d
	For a cruppier—8d; for a stonne of candles—4s:	4s 8d
candles	To Dewell, the sadler, for a stonn of candles:	4s
shuger	Bought of my cosin James Briges, mercer, in Worcester:-	
sope & fruite & spice	Imprimis—half a hundred weight of powder and peece	
	shuger, being 56 pownd at 15d the pownd:	3li 10s
	for 56 pownd of best Bristoll sope at 3d ob a lb:	16s 4d
	case nuttmeggs—half a pownd:	3s 4d
	pepper, half a pownd—16d; ginger, 4 ounce—6d:	22d
	large mace, 2 ounce—2s; cloves, 2 ounce—14d:	3s 4d ¹³³
	large sinamond—4 ounce—at 6d an ounce:	2s
resings	resings sollis—6 pownd; & currants—6lb; all at 7d a lb:	7s
	new prunes—4 pownd—at 5d a pownd:	20d
shugger	for powder and peece shuger to pay my cosin	
	Jeffreys that I borrowed of her the last somer—6lb:	7s 6d
	for 1 ounce of black round tailers silk:	2s 2d
6li 3s paid ¹³⁴	4 quiers of bla browne cap paper, very naught:	1s
	6 pownd of cotton wick yarn for lights:	5s
bought at	Pinines white, 1000—10d; a sope barrill—6d:	16d
Worchester	A new canvas bagge for the shuger:	1s
oysters	For 100 of oysters—1s; gave Owinne at Garnons	
	to his bead ale—1s:	2s

¹³³ Joyce appears to have totalled this entry incorrectly; it should be 3s 2d.

¹³⁴ If Joyce bought everything down to the cotton wick from Briges she paid more than the total cost, which amounted to £6 1s 2d.

from Gar- nons	Gave ould Eliner for cariinge Daisye to Heriford:	6d
	Gave the Goodwyfe Towne of Bridge, litle	
	Tom Geers his nurse:	1s
Desember	Paid at Heriford for 9 crabb tree stocks to	
Tho	sett down the walk of the new gardin in Heriford:	20d
Bedford	Paid for a thrave of thacke for William Eyshams	
dissbursments	piggs>2< cotts, which I se[n?]tt to Mr Humfrey	
	Diggers:	14d
	Paid a thatcher for thatchinge the cotts & buckls &	
	scowps:	15d
wages	Paid my maid, Joyse Simons, a quarters wages, due	
	at Cristmas, 1643, all that was due then:	10s
	Paid by Mrs Anne Ailway to John Powell and his	
	brother for dressing & diing 9 yards quarter of red	
	cloth at 10d a yeard, & 27 yards of blue cloth,	
	for curtames [curtains] & valence for my owne bed, &	
	10 yards scowring of blak & white for aperns; in all:	28s 9d
	I gave John Buttrey the 2d that wase left of that money:	2d

11li 9s 8d tru cast

1643	Heryford and Garnons dissbursments	[f. 56v]
January		
1	Imprimis—gave ould Joane Gardiner at Garnons:	6d
	Gave Margrete & Blainche>ould< Mrs Geerse maides:	2s
	Gave Joane Philips—1s; & Jack Buttrey—1s:	2s
	My god daughter Geeres servants, & to Peter the baily:	6d
	Paid Thomas Rowles—to make up 10s—for keeping	
	my 4 trunks at his howse at Hinton, after his wyfe died:	4s
2	Gave Mr Carpinders 2 men of Hinton, for removing	
	them from Rowles his howse to Mr John Carpinders ther:	1s
	To Mr Rufford to play at cards at Garnons: ¹³⁵	6d
sack	For a quart of sack brought to Garnons:	16d
muscadin	More after that, for a quarte of musscadine:	18d
Reece	To ould Reece for sowing the lace of my cloth gown:	2d
15	Paid my cosin Franncis Geerse of Garnons in	
diet	full paiement for one months diet for me & my	
paide	maide, Joyse Simons, due January 17, 1643:	50s
usse	Sent to Maude Prichett, by Thomas Bedford, for one	
paide	yeare & halfs usse for 10li, that I owe her	
19	daughter Eliner Prichett upon my bond to Mr Barksdale,	
	and was due January 23, 1643:	24s

¹³⁵ Joyce also gave Elizabeth Acton money to play cards—see f. 52.

wages T Bedford	I paid Thomas Bedford a quarters wages due to him—due January 23, or a fortnight before Candlmas, 1643:	15s
27 to Gar- nons	I gave Mrs Elinor Tomkins, midwyfe>of Heriford< for coming to my goddaughter Geers when she wall [sic] ille:	2s 6d
	To Sir John Giles, the hott water man, for aquavity:	1s
oisters	Oysters—1s; and againe oisters—6d; & oysters moor—6d:	2s
poore of Nene paid 30	Sent to Nene Sollers, half a yeares maintenance for the poore there, due at Alholandtide, 16143 [1643]: Forgot till now, Mathias receved it of me & sent it to Mr Pitts, parson there.	8s
	For a paier of white gloves at Heriford:	14d
February 17	Paid my cosin Francis Geers, in full for one months diet, due February 17, 1643:	50s
diett Anne Warberton	Gave Anne Bundy (once), now Anne Warberton, at Garnons:	1s
	Gave Tom Rowles, for cariing a letter to Bradard to M Rufford:	6d
22	For 100 of oyster—1s; a legge of mutonne at Herifford—1s:	2s
usse to Maud Prichett	Paid Maude Prichett for one yeare & halfs usse for 10li; I stand bownde to Mr Barksdale for Nell Prichets porsion, due Janary 23, 1643; paid by Mathias Rufford at Heryford:	24s
wages T Bedford	Paid Thomas Bedford, my coache man, a quarters wages, due a fortnight before Candlmas, 1643:	15s
gifts to poore folk at Christ- mas	For a new alminack of Gallins making, covered with red; ¹³⁶ I sent to my ould cosin Thomas Blunt of the hospitall in Heriford, at Cristmas: And to ould William Rawlins then: & to the Widdow Wattis, James Wattis mother:	8d
	Sent to Mr Edward Pitts, parson, of Nene Solers, 6 months maintenance for the poore of that parish; due at Alholandtide, by the bequest of my deare brother Humfrey Coningesby, esquier; of Nene Sollers, in his last will & testament; due at Allh All Holiantide last past, 1643;	8s
T Edmunds	Paid for the charges at the tyme I was to arest Thomas Edmunds—14d:	14d

¹³⁶ A number of almanacs by Thomas Gallen survive from the period of Joyce's accounts (1642, 1643, 1647, 1649), but none from 1644. Joyce purchased another of his almanacs in 1646/7; see the fn reference on f. 66v. This red-covered almanac at 8d was among the more expensive of the examples that Joyce purchased.

Bes Newton	Paid Maud Prichett of Heriford, for spinning	
disbursements	4 stonn of my best woolle for curtaines, at	
curtaines	5s a stonne; for blue cloth currtaines—27 yards:	20s
red cloth	And spinning 2 stonne more at 4s a stonne:	8s
metheglin	And 3 wax pownd more for apernes:	1s
	Item—for 2 quarts of metheglin & a cake:	18d

10li 5s 6d tru cast¹³⁷

1643	Heryford and Garnons dissbursments	[f.] 57
February		
27	Gave ould Bradley, the clarck of Litle Mauncell, when he had hurt him self:	1s
Elyzabeth Newtons	Paid Michael Hearing for weaving 8 yards of fine flanills—1s; for scowring hit—1s:	2s
& Anne Aill-ways accounts	For for 2 pownde of weecke [wick?] yearne:	20d
	Paid for a bushell of wheate cam to Garnons:	3s 3d
	Paid Sible Wattis for spinning hose yearn:	4d
Betsy Munkland died the 26 day	Sent to ould Bradley the clark Gave Basseter:	6d
usse the first	Egges—6d; gave toward the burial of Betsy Munkland: I paid my cosin James Briges of Worcester, mercer, for 6 months use for 100li stock, due January 23, 1643:	6d
Mr Greenwood	For Mathias expences with his hors going to receve 16li rent of Mr Greenwood at Chastlton in Oxford sheere, but brought non:	4li
apoticary paid 4li 6s	Paid Mr Phillip Aston of Heriford, in full of his bill for phisick for my god daughter, Elyzabeth Acton, & som litle for myself, against her mariage, and a yeare before:	12s
March 18	Paid my cosin Francis Geerse of Garnons, for a months diet for myself & Joyse Simons, my maide, due the 17 of this March, 1643:	4li 6s
bought barley for mault	Gave Grace Carpender that brought 3 pikes: I bought this last winter> 1643< in Heriford markitt, to make mault for my howse, 110 boshell of barley at 2s 8d, 2s 10d, 2s 11d, 2s 9d, 3s, & 3s 1d a bozshell; the money came to:	50s
otes bought for mault	Item—I bought in Heriford markitt, 40 boshell of otes to make mault, at 15d & 16d a boshell, cost:	6d
		15li 19s 6d
		2li 10s 11d

¹³⁷The figures for this folio as given above actually total £10 4s 4d.

	Paid for 8 stonne & 4 pownd of beeffe for my hows-hould in Heriford against Christmas Shroftide, at 18d a stonne:	12s 6d
	For a shoulder of mutton for them the same tyme:	9d
	For pack thrid to make a gardin line:	1d
Aprill 24, 1643 he cam & 25 Wensday he enterd the citty	Paid John Baddam for mending the tile over my new closett, which Sir William Wallers>sowldiers< brake downe to shote at Widdmarsh Gate, when he beseeged the citty of Heriford:	4d
	I paid ould Reece for cuttinge lesser the sleeves of my blak pluss gowne, & paring the skirts shorter:	1s
	I paid for a quart of muscudine for my god-daughter Geerse, when she was sick:	18d
wages	I paid Joyse Simons a quarters wages, due at St Mary Day, 1644:	10s
20 March	Oysters—3d; shue ties, red silk riband—9d; pinnes, 3 papers—9d:	21d
	Paid Mr Harry Meredith an ould bill for smale wares fetched by Bes Goulding, as bustian, holand & thrid:	3s 3d
Ferdinando Wast	I gave Ferdinando Wast—18d; ¹³⁸ & Giles Newton—6d:	2s
	Gave a digger of stonne at the quarry at Garnons:	2d
	For a paier of greene silke garters at Heriford:	2s 8d
	For 7 yeards of cobweb lawne & 3 nailes, at 2s 2d a yeard, only the 3 nailes abated at Mr William Prices:	15s 2d
	For 2 yeards of white silk sipers—half a naile les:	4s
	Alowed Joyse Simons, to drink, when she bought these smale wares at Heriford:	1d
	For 4 pownd of loffe shuger to send my god dawghter Walsh in Worster, at 18d a pownd:	6s
7s 7d for my self	Large mace, 1 ounce for her—14d; nuttmeggs, 1 ounce—5d:	19d
	Large ginger, 4 ounce—6d; mace, 2 ounce—2s 4d:	2s 10d
	Cloves, 2 ounce—16d; pepper, 4 ounce—7d:	23d
these wares were bou[gh]t in February forgot till now	Figges, 11b—8d; lawnde, 3 yeards, at 6s 6d a yeard:	19s 6d ¹³⁹
	Holand for 6 handkerchers, at 5s 4d an elle:	6s
	Gave a man that had his howse burned at Cleeberry Mortimer; at Litle Mauncells church he gathered money:	4d

35li 1 s 7d tru cast

¹³⁸ Sir Thomas Coningsby left Ferdinand Wast and his wife two parts of the farm at Cutsdean to hold for life at the current rent. NA PROB/11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby. Wast had formerly been Humphrey Coningsby's servant. NA PROB/11/129, will of Humphrey Coningsby.

¹³⁹ The price for the figs does not appear to have been included.

[f. 57v]

Dissbursed and spent at Bradward the whole
yeare past, ending on St Mary Eve, 1643: 135li 2s 3d

Som totall dissbursed at Heriford and
Bradward & ells where ~~the where~~ the whole
yeare past, ending onn St Mary Eve, 1643: 575li 11s 2d

And I receved there that yeare—[blank]
End

1644 **Dissbursed at Garnons and Heryford** **[f.] 58**
Aprill **and ells where**

1 **Beginninng the first day of Aprill, 1644,**
 writon at my cosin Francis Geers his howse
 at Garnons, for the wholle yeare folowing
 untill this tyme twelvmonth, 1645.

17 Imprimis—I paid my cosin Franncis Geers and his
this day I wyfe, somme tyme Mrs Elyzabeth Acton, for one
came from monthes diett for my self and Joyse Simons,
Garnons to my maide, due this Wensday, April 17, 1644: 50s
Heriford

17 I gave to the servants at Garnons, when I
I gave the came away from thence to Heriford to my owne howse:-
servants at Imprimis—gave ould Anne Busby, widdow, my god
Garnons daughter Geeres governer of her howse: 18d

17 Given John Buttry her man then: 18d
Gave Jane, the dey maid—1s; & Peeter the bailiff—1s: 2s
7s to them Gave Owin, on[e] of her hindes—1s; Tom Buttry—6d: 18d
Gave ould Snead, a workman: 6d

old Mrs Gave ould Mrs Geerses servants as foloweth.
Geeres ser- Gave ould Joane Gardiner & Margrett: 2s
vants Gave Mrs Shusan Garnons—1s; to Coocksey—1s
[deletion]: 18d 2s

memrandon Coocksey ys my cosin Francis Geerces boy,
and I gave him 1s.

som 5s to Gave Elyzabeth Yong, Mr Thomas Geeres
them maide & his wyfes—she cam from London: 1s

on Shore- To John Cappe, a[l]ias Stefens, for cariing som
Thursday clothes of myne from Garnons to Heriford: 6d

at Heriford spent in provision	I cam from Garnons on Wensday 17 Aprill, 1644, to Heriford to my new howse, which night & spent in vele>&< mutton—2s; on Thursday in mete—3s, bred—8d:	5s 8d
	Item—I paid John Rawlins, the baker, an ould score that was fetched a good while before for mainchettes and baking second bred:	9s 6d
	For sider—4d; and for ale—1d:	5d
	I gave my ould cosin Thomas Blunts wyfe:	1s
spent & gave [in] Heriford from Wensday night to Good Friday morning 20s 7d	Gave Walter Rode, for him self:	6d
	& to make his felow servitors drinke, I gave: ¹⁴⁰	6d
	Gave Robin, the ould waite:	6d
	Gave Sible Wattis—1s; & my godson Harbert	2s
	Westfaling of Wye Bridge—1s; both:	9d
	Paid for a litle peece of holand to make band stocks:	
	I came from Heriford to Homcastle on Good Friday, Aprill 19, 1644; disbursed there as followeth.	
	Gave James Wattis for bringing my cownters and box from Heriford, that was forgotten behinde:	6d
black lace 24	Sent my cosin James Bridges of Worcester, by Mr William Knight, tailer, for a parcell of black silk lace, that wanted for my stuff gowne:	5s
	Gave a boy that brought a new cheier from the botte [boat?]:	2d
	For 2 iron peeces to putt in the smoothing iron:	10d
Bromyerd	For a pownd of sope from Worcester:	4d
	Gave my cosin Brownes man of Broomyeard, that brought me 2 capons from him:	6d
	Gave Goodwyfe Sage, in lokinge to my cosin Jane Gorton when she was sick, & to shroud Bessy Munklon:	1s
gray mare [?]oild	Paid John Eales of Mortymers Cross by Leominster, to assay to cure my gray mare, which my cosin Francis Geerce borrowed of me, & melted her greace:	2s
4li 13s 8d tru cast		
1644		
May	Heryford dissbursments and ellse wheare	[f. 58v]
1		
Mathias Rufiords dissbursments	Paid Mrs Millbrow Lawrence of Heriford, for making me a cobweb lawne ruffe:	3s
	Paid at the 2 jorneyes with the teames from Garnons to Homcastle to bring over my	

¹⁴⁰ Walter Rode, also a legatee in the will of Sir Thomas Coningsby, worked as his chamberlain. NA PROB/11/148, will of Thomas Coningsby.

	trunks & chests, etc.; vities for my servants by the way:	1s
	Paid the 2 men, the one for the loane of his coult and 2 horses, the other for his paines in cominge & goinge with them from [blank] to Homcastle, with 3 trunks & 1 greate box from Garnons to Homcastle:	5s
	Gave Mr Childes man, at Wofferlow, for one nights resting there with the cariage:	6d
	Paid for a cloth to putt under Mathias Ruffords sadle:	1s
wages	Paid for a girth:	3d
TB	Paid Thomas Bedford, my servant, 1 quarters wages, due a fortnight before Holirood Day, 1644:	15s
rent	Paid the Widdow Beedlston, half a yeares rent for my cosin Jane Gortons howse, due at St Mary Day, 1644:	20s
I deliverd up her howse now	Paid Mrs Haggley, widdow to Mr John Haggley, vicker of Allholands church in Heriford, decesed, for the teith of my gardins there the last yeare:	2s 6d
	Paid Maud Pritchett, which she lent Elyzabeth Newton, to b[uj]y smale things in to the howse:	16d
	Gave an honest carpinder, for preserving my tymber from the Governors knowledge, which [deletion] sought for tymber to make works to defend Heriford:	1s
May 1644	Paid for work donn in making bullwarks to defend the citty of Heriford from in vasion:	20d
my dissburs at Homcastle	For a quier of cours writing paper:	4d
21	I gave my god daughter Joyse Munne, once Joyse Cotes, of Cotheridge, for coming to se me:	5s
	Paid at Worsester for dressing my beaver hatt:	2s 6d
	For inke—2d; gave Isack Robins:	1s & 2d
	I gave my 3 servants, Henry Baker, Thomas Griffitts & James Watis, when they came with 2 waine loades of chests & trunks from Garnons to Homcastle:	18d
June	Gave Goodwyfe Nott of the Smeeths, my>gawnd< nephew William Jeffreys nurse, when she brought him to Homcastle:	1s
2	For a well roppe of bast, for my well at Heriford:	6d
3	For 4 new shuse for my yong bay mare:	16d
4	Gave the 3 maids at Homcastle; Hester the butler: ¹⁴¹ To Eliner Burraston, the coock, & Barbaba Barbara the dey maid, & Elyzabeth Jones[?] the poultry maide:	18d
	Gave Alis Gwin of Stanford, which dwelled once	

¹⁴¹ The words 'the butler' have been written over the line drawn to finish the entry. William Jeffreys employed a female butler, Hester Packer, when Joyce first arrived at Ham Castle. She was replaced by John Aldern in 1646/7.

	at Nene Solers with my good sister Freeman:	6d
	I gave Mr James Newton that came to see me at Homcastle:	1s
	To a joyner for mynding my 2 boxes at Homcastle:	4d
23	Gave Thomas Yeamons of Bromyard, that brought 4li from my cosin Brown[?]:	6d
	Gave the workmen at the Fordge at Grete Shellsley:	6d
	Gave Mary Collins, my maid of Bradward, when she and her mother cam to see me at Homcastle:	6d
at Hom-	Gave James Mearick for cariinge a letter to Bradward:	1s
castle	Gave yonge Miles Caswalle, that cam to see my cosin	
30	Jeffreys, and my self, Joyse Jeffreys, [to] sele a bond to his father Richard Caswall of Wickton for 100li dett:	5s
3li 17s 5d tru cast		
1644		
July	Heryford dissbursments & Homcastle, 1644	[f.] 59
3		
6	I did give James Mearick a litle before this:	6d
250li paid	Paid for stiffening the brimes of my best bever [hat]:	6d
10	Paid ould Mr Francis Geers of Garnons, in parte of Elyzabeth Actons 800li porsion:	250li
January 13	To Goodwyfe Peecks of Clifton, for knitting me a paiar of white thrid gloves, the thrid mine:	2s
next I must pay 250li more & 10li usse. cheries preserved		
	Paid a woeman of Poyk for preserving me 2 pownd of cheries, & the shuger myne:	8d
	Item—for the 2 pownd of cheries:	1s
	Paid at Clifton for 2 dozen of thrid points:	4d
15	For a quarter of an elle of rownd holand to stock bands:	8d
	For whitted browne [thread] to make up my gloves:	2d
	Mr Rufford spent 2d when he rece 8s>of< Harbard Walton:	2d
20	Gave Davyd Williams for cutting wood for my chamber:	6d
	I paid William Knight, a tailer, in Worcester, for making me a polony coate & kirtle:	12s
	Item—paid for riband for the kirtle & the collar:	10d
	For 3 quarters of a yeard of white calicow:	10d
poore of Nene paid	For 8 black silk buttons for the hands, & silk:	[deletion] 4d
23	I deliverd Mr Edward Pitts, parson of Nene Sollers, for half a yeares maintainance due to the poore of Nene Sollers at Holirood Day last, 1644; by the gift of my brother Humfrey Coningesby:	8s
Mrs Vaughan was at Homcastle then	I deliverd Mathias Rufford, to pay Mrs Eliner Wednester half a yeares usse for 50li stock, due June the 15th, 1644; paid at her fathers howse in	

August	Broomyeard:	4li
3	I paid for 2 quartes of sacke at Worcester:	3s
8	I gave Elizabeth Holiman of Clifton when I dined there:	1s
	I gave her maide then:	4d
	I dined ther one Thursday, August 8, when I was at a lecture there.	
usse to	Paid Mrs Aliis Williams of Heriford, widdow,	
Mrs	for 1 yeares usse of 100li stock, due May 11, 1644:	8li
Williams	Paid to workmen for cariing som howshould	
when my	for my lower howse in Heriford, to my	
hay was	upper new howse in the same Widmarsh Streete:	11s
all spent	Payd for hay for Mathias hors in Heriford	
	on[e] day when he cam to towne:	2d
	Gave Mr Dockter Alderns man for his	
	horses, to fetch my coache from Garnons to Heriford:	1s
	Paid Mr Henry Meredith for [blank] yearddes	
	of tiffany, yeard broad, at 4s 8d a yeard,	
suger	abating 1s; in the whole paid:	34s
	Paid in Worcester for 3 pownd of loffe suger,	
	to send my god daughter Walsh, being sick:	4s 6d
	Mathias>Rufford< spent that day with his horse in	
	Worserster:	8d
	Spent by Mr Rufford when he payed	
20 day of	Mr Geerse 250li in Heriford, July 10, 1644:	6d
June	Paid at Heriford faier for a loine of mutton	
August	for Mathias Rufford & my servants there:	1s
16	Paid for a paier of shuse for my self:	2s 6d
	Gave Mr Tovies man, the parson of Bradwayes,	
diet paid	that brought me a baskit of peares from his master:	6d
20	Paid my cosin William Jeffreys for one quarters	
	diet for my self and Joyse Phillips Simons at	
hatt	Homcastle, due July the 19, 1644, the first: ¹⁴²	7li 10s
oyle	Paid for a felt hatt to give my cosin Harbert Jeffreis:	12s
28	For a juggle of salit oyle, of a potle:	5s
274li 15s 8d tru cast		
1644		
September	Heryford Dissbursments & Homcastle	[f. 59v]
1	For 2 quier of browne paper at Worster:	6d

¹⁴² The words 'the first' have been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

wages	For 2 papers of bigge white pinmes—flatt heads:	8d
	Paid Joyse Simons, my maide, 1 quarters	
first day	wages due at [deletion] Middsomer, 1644,	
9	when she went to finde to Coombeies childe of Clifton:	10s
	Gave the 4 maids at Homcastle, at Worcester	
	faier on our Lady Day; ¹⁴³ videlicet Hester>Packer<	
	the butler, Elinor Burraston, the coocke, Barbara [blank],	
	the dey maide and Elyzabeth Joanes, the baker, to	
10	eche—1s:	4s
	Gave Cherilickcom & his Jack an apes:	4d
27	Gave John Buffton of Clifton, an ould man:	3d
	Gave the barge man at the Forge:	3d
28	Gave a poore woman of Clifton:	1d
	Gave Barbara, the day mayd, that lost the former 1s,	
	I gave her:	1s
	For 2 quier of browne paper—6d; & 1 quier of	
October	white—6d:	1s
1	Deliverd Joyse Simonns, in part of her quarters	
wages	wages, which was due at Micklmas, 1644:	5s
23s 1d from the top—tru		
July	Mathias Ruffords dissbursement for the moneths of	
	July, August, September and October, 1644,	
August	at Heryford and Bradward & els where.	
	Imprimis—he gave, by my apoyntment, to yong	
September	Miles Casewall of Wickton:	5s
October	Paid Mrs Flecher and her mother in law	
howse	one yeares rent for the ould howse I	
rent	did dwell in, in Widmarsh Streete in	
wages	Heriford, due at Mickmas, 1644; then I left the howse:	6li
	Paid Thomas Bedford half a yeares wages, to	
clothes	be due neere Alholand, 1644:	30s
a shute	Then he departed out of my service to his owne howse,	
& cloake	at which tyme I gave him, to b[u]y him a shute:	4li
	Item—I had a firkin of metheglin from Heriford,	
metheglin	of 7 galanes wanting a pinte, at 8d a quart;	
cam to	it came to 18s 4d, but Maude Prichet	
Homcastle	toke but 10s [?] and gave me the rest:	10s
cheefe	Paid Mr George Lea, the kings majesties bailly, for	
rent	on[e] yeares cheeffe rent for John Prichets howse	

¹⁴³Two fairs have been identified at Worcester: one established by letter close at the Feast of St Barnabas [11 June]; and another by prescription at the Nativity of Mary [Lady Day, 8 September]. Letters, *Online Gazetteer* <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>>:[Worcester] (last updated 29 November 2005; 2 January 2006).

	in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford, due at Micklmas, 1644:	18d
gray	Paid him for an aquittance:	4d
mare	Paid for a gray mare bought of [blank]:	46s 8d
	Paid Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, in Heriford, for	
a coate	3 yeards of fine scarlett barragon	
to give	at 3s 4d a yeard, to make Anne Ailwaies	
Betridge	childe, Betridge, to make her a cote:	10s
Aylway	Canvas to line bodies—7d; buckram—4d;	
	the canvas was 1 quarter of an elle:	11d
som is	9 yeards of red & greene statute lace to tryme it:	2s 3d [ob?]
15s 4d ob	For sowing silk—4d; & bonne—2d:	6d
but I paid	3 quarters of 4d riband, & 3 quarters of 2d riband:	4d
only 15s	Half a yeard of dutch jaine fustian:	8d
	Half a yeard of cullerd calicow:	8d
	Paid for 10 elles of flaxen cloth, at 2s 7d an	
	elle, bought at Heriford faier in October, 1644:	25s 10d
	For 3 elles of holand, at 3s 8d an elle:	11s
	For 5000 of pinns—the bigger at 2d ob a paper,	
	the lesser at 9d; som & 10d the other 2000, in all:	6s 5d
	For making me a tifany ruffe, to Mrs Millberow	
	Lawrence:	3s

Som totall from the top ys—18li 17s 10d tru cast¹⁴⁴

1644

October	Heryford dissbursments and elsse where	[f.] 60
starche		
	Paid for 6 pownde of white starche at Heriford	
	which I had to Homcastle to me, at 3d a pownd:	18d
wages	Paid for 3 lofes of Heriford manchete, cam thither:	6d
	Paid Joyse Simons a quarters wages, due at Micklmas:	10s
	Paid for a new stamill sadle, with girths,	
	stirrops, sadle cloth and bridle, for M Rufford:	20s
	Paid Heyward, the tailer, for and towards the	
Elyzabeth	fier for the maine g[u]lard in Heriford:	4s
Newton	Mathias Rufford deliverd Elyzabeth Newton,	
October	in part of her owne stocke, by her apointment:	10s
19	My owne dissbursments at Homcastle.	
sope paid	Imprimis—paid at Worcestre, for 64 pownd of hrops	
Mr John	Bristoll sope, at 4d the pownd—21s 4d; and	
Underwood	for excise and proffitt of the sope—2s;	
	for that the Worsester man said it cost him	
	so much in Bristoll, as 4d a pownd.	

¹⁴⁴ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £18 18s 2d.

¹⁴⁵ Though Joyce paid only 24s, the total cost amounts to 24s 1d.

ribbd	Item—for a barrill to putt the sope in—9d; in all paid:	24s ¹⁴⁵
tankard	Paid for setting on the lidd of my silver tankard:	16d
feltt hatt	For a quier of browne paper—3d; to Goody Buffton—2d:	5d
a quarters	For a russet felt hatt I gave my cosin Harberd Jeffreys:	12s
diett	Paid my cosin Jeffreys for a quarters diett for my self & Joyse Simons, my maid, at Homcastle, due October 19, 1644:	7li 10s
	Gave Davy Williams for cutting me wood for my chamber:	6d
	Gave William Ingrams wyfe at Homcastle:	5s
November	For 3 quarters of red riband for shue ties:	6d
	Holand, half an elle, for >ruff< band stocks:	15d
ribands	For a pownd of castle sope:	14d
to give—4s	For a new kay for my ould lethern chest:	4d
	For 8 yeards of clouded ribands to give my litle cosins at New Years tide, at 6d a yeard:	4s
	For 2 removes for my bay mares shuse:	2d
	For one elle demy of holand, of a pedler bought, to make me handkerchers, at 4s the elle:	6s
Desember	For one elle of fine holand for bands & cuffs:	12s
	For 2 pownd demy of white shugger to pay my cosin Jeffreys that I borowed of her to preserve	
burggin	apricots, at 16d a pownd, at Worcester:	3s 4d
piche	For burggin pitch, for Bes Newtons >sore< eyes:	4d
poore of	Sent to be distributed to the poore of Nene Sollers, against Cristmas, for half a yeare; sent by Thomas	
Nene Solers	Nott of Greate Shelsley, to bring to his father in law, Humfrey Hardman, of Nene Solers:	8s
15	Gave Mary Farley at Homcastle:	2s
January	Paid for 6 pownd of white shuger in a loffe to present my cosin Jeffreys wyfe, at New Years tide:	8s
1	Paid for a paier of sweete gloves to present Mrs Bartley at New Years tide:	2s
at	I gave Anne Litle, my cosin Jeffreys maid:	2s
Homcastle	Gave Margrete Medowcoorte—2s; & Jane Medowcoorte—1s:	3s
	Gave Anne Baldwin, ould Mrs Bartleys maid:	1s
	Gave Thomas Harris, Mr Bartleys man:	1s
	Gave Hester Packarr, my cosin Jeffreys butler:	2s 6d
	Gave Barbara, the day maid & Eliner Burason, the coock:	4s

14li 9s 10d tru cast

1644

January	Heryford disbursements and els where	[f. 60v]
1	Gave Bes Jones, the baker—2s; & George the bruer—1s:	3s

	Gave Jack Done—6d; and Dick Done—6d:	1s
	Gave my beloved godson and nephew, Henry Jeffreys:	2s 6d
	Gave Isack Robins—2s 6d; & my cosin Brownes	
5	man of Broomyeard, brought me a tirkey & capons:	6d
som given	Gaves James Mearick for killing a fox:	6d
at Cristmas—	Gave Dick Rowles, my boy of Bradward:	3d
34s 6d	Gave Davy, the baily of the Teemes:	6d
10	Gave William Ingram, when he caught	
	a salmon in Teame at Homcastle: ¹⁴⁶	2s 6d
my 3th	Gave my maid, Joyse Simons, for a New Years gift:	1s
quarters	Paid for a quarters diett for my self and Joyse	
diett paid	Simons, due January 19, 1644:	7li 10s
29	For a new alminacke of George Naworths makinge: ¹⁴⁷	6d
	Gave Francis Smith of Leominster, brought a letter	
February	from William Gittose of Warton:	6d
3	Gave Mrs Anne Aylway at Homcastle, she brought	
10	me a silk caule florished with gold & silver:	5s
	Gave ould Nurce Burraston of Clifton, she	
22	brought me a quarter of lofe shuger to Homcastle:	1s
Barbara	Gave Barbara Corbitt, when she went away from	
went	Homcastle to her mother, dwelling in Wiggmor:	1s
away	To John Jones of Cliftons Wood, for making me a firr	
	tree staffe and putting a peece of brasse on the end of	
	a staffe:	6d
dissburs-	For 2 quier of cap paper—6d; figges, a pownd—6d:	1s
ments	Mathias Rufford his dissbursments at Bradward and else	
	where in November, Desember & January, 1644.	
usse	Paid ould Mr Francis Geers of Garnons, 6 months	
porsion	usse for 250li, being part of his daughter in lawes	
	porsion, due to him January 13, 1644:	10li
usse	Paid Mr Richard Caswalle of Wickton, 6 months	
	usse for 100li I borrowed for the same porsion,	
	due January 13, 1644:	4li
	Paid John Collins of Lide, 6 months usse for	
usse	the same occasion I borrowed hit, due January 12, 1644;	
	80li I owe him:	3li 4s
	Paid Richard Dewell, sadler, in Heriford, for mending	
	my coach harness:	14s
	Paid for mending the warming pan that I gave	

¹⁴⁶The words 'at Homcastle' have been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

¹⁴⁷George Naworth [George Wharton], *An new almanack* (London 1645). Sir George Wharton, astrologer and royalist, published his first almanac in 1641, under the pseudonym of Naworth. After the outbreak of war he quickly emerged as 'the foremost royalist astrologer', in direct opposition to William Lilly. B. Capp, 'Wharton, Sir George, first baronet (1617–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 29 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29165>].

	my god daughter, Elizabeth Geers:	6d
	Paid for dawbing and mending the walles abowt William Eissams howse, when I delivired it up to Hary Eysham; the workman fownd 3 loads of clay, in all: I allowed Mathias Rufford, for divers jorneyes in rideinge abowt to loke money of my dettors, but litle cam in:	5s
Heriford	Gave John Pritchett, at severall tymes, to please him for watching at the gate called Widmarsh Gate:	20s
M Rufford	Spent at the reseight of the 4li he rece of Mr Barroll:	9d
compost	Paid for cariing in all the mucke out of Eyshams gardin into my greate gardin; but where is the ould muck—in Fletchers garden:	2s 6d
stockings	Paid Shusan Wanklin of Bradward, for a paier of fine woollin stockings for my self—3s; a litle yearn more—4d:	4s
graing	Paid Mr Jenins of Leominster, the Lord Bishops rent for the half grainge land, due at Micklmas, 1644:	3s 4d
rent	For 1 yeard demy of red silk riband for shu ties:	2s 6d
January		6d
also		

28li 8s 4d tru cast

1644

March
19**Heryford shere dissbursments and els where**

[f.] 61

	For 3 wooden whistles to give children:	2d
	For a yearde of ashe culler riband for a band string:	6d
	For a crock to putt starch in:	1d
holand	For a yeard of heare culler riband for my head:	3d
	Paid Thomas Howlman of Clifton, for 10 elles of fine holand that a frend of his brought from Coventry, at 6s 6d an ell:	3li 5s
wages	Paid Joyse Simons, my maid, a quarters wages, due at St Mary Day, 1645:	10s
	For a silver bodkin—2s 6d; & half an ounce of blacks silk—1s:	3s 6d
Homcastle	Gave the joiner, that toke out my ould bodkin from betweene the boords in my chamber:	6d
	Gave Hester Packer, the buttler at Homcastle:	2s
	Gave Elinor Burraston, the coock:	1s
	Gave Elyzabeth Jones, the baker & poultry keeper:	1s
	Gave Isack Robins:	1s
& said his wyfe was with childe.	I gave Mr William Harris of Bradward, when he cam to me at Homcastle:	20s
Mrs Ailway had but 250 plants	Paid for 400 of cabidge plants for Heriford gardin:	3s
	Paid for Mathias Ruffords diett & his horse meate for 2 daies and nights:	3s

	Paid Mrs Anne Ailweis bill as followeth.	
	For making me 2 tiffany ruffes, to Mrs	
	Millborow Lawrance of Heriford:	6s 6d
	Paid for a pott of pomatom:	6s 8d
	For a dozen pownd of white starch:	3s
	To Goodwyfe Wattis for setting cabidge plants:	2d
	For 2 papers of pinnes with flatt heads:	5d
	Given to sowldiers that were sent to be quartered	
	in my new howse, 3 severall tymes:	16d
	For a trace of onions to sett for seede:	6d
Anne Paviers	To John Simons for a daies worke & better in my	
husband	gardin:	1s
	To Charles Davies & John Simons for 3 dayes	
	a peece in my grete gardin, at 10d a day:	5s
Heriford	I alowed them, to drink, at the sowinge of the gardin:	2d
gardin	To John Simons sithence for paving the alleies	
	and stipering up the hearbs:	16d
M Rufford	Paid for a capias for Mr Thomas Guillam of	
for 10li dett	Tibertunne—8d; & for the serjeants feese—6d:	14d
90li 5s 0	Dissburssed and spent at Bradward the whole	
this side	yeare abowt, ending on St Mary Eve, 1644:	83li 7s 9d
	Dissbur Besides corn, mault, bacon, ruffe beeffe,	
	piggs, pultry, sider & fruit & whitmete not receved,	
	which cam to 50li with hay & provinder.	
	Som totall dissburssed at Heriford, Bradward	
	and ells where the whole yeare abowt,	
	ending on St Mary Day Eve, 1644:	435li 7s 9d

1645	New dissburssments for the whole yeare folowing,	
Aprill	beginning the first day of Aprill 1645, at Homcastle.	[f. 61v]
1		
20	Imprimis—I gave Goodwyfe Lewes of Tedston, the	
yong John	midwife to my cosin Jeffreys wyfe of her sonne,	
Jeffreys	John Jeffreys:	10s
christened	I gave Thomas Notts wyfe of the Smeethes in Grete	
20 day,	Shelsleys parish, that nursed my godsonn, John Jeffreys:	10s
& born on	Paid Anthony Sivall, a litle tailer, for a litle work:	2d
Lowsonday,	For a glasse of iinke:	3d
13 day.	Paid Joyse Simons, my maide, a quarters wages	
wages	on the fore hand, to be due at Midsomer next:	10s
Joyse S	I sent my neece Mary Ansley, to Worcester, by T Harris:	20s
shuger	Bought of Edward Cox, by the request of Mr	
20	Joshua Ailway of Worcester, 1 firkin of powder	
	shuger, weight half a hundred and 5 pownd	
	and a half, at 12d ob the pownde:	3li 6s 4d

	Item—for 1 shuger loffe weight 11 pownd and 14 ounces at 15d a pownde:	14s 10d
20	Item—for 1 shuger loffe, weight 5 pownds & 1 ounce, at 15d:	6s 4d
May	Gave Thomas Griffits, my servant, that brought me word of the fearfull souldiers that were at Bradard:	6d
10	Gave a woeman that brought me two peny from>cakes< from Mrs Anne Aylway, from Heriford:	6d
	Gave the begger woman that brought me a white stonne dish out of Yearke shere from my cosin Anne Notte:	4d
	To Hill of Clifton, for covering 2 ould quishions with white lether:	16d
25	For a paier of lambe skin gloves for my self:	8d
	Gave the ladd that rowed us over Teme at the Fordge, when Mr [deletion] Jones of Grete Shelsley was buried:	4d
	Item—for a flagon of sider at the Fordge:	2d
31	Paid Joyse Simons, in part of her quarters wages, which wilbe due at Micklmas next, 1645, when she went to cristen William Ingrams sonn, William:	5s gould
wages	Bes Newton	1s
31	Paid for a quart of clarit wine:	
Bes Newton	June 5—paid; paid Joyse Simons, that she laied out for mending the smothing iron:	4d
cam to	Bought of Goodwife Jenkins of Clifton, mercer,	
Homcastle	23 yeards of red feritt riband, under 4d a yeard:	7s
June	For 7 yeards of white dimety at 19d a yeard:	11s
5	For 6 yeards of galoone lace to binde my new blue and red mohere petycote at the skirts:	1s
wastcote	Gave Elyzabeth Holiman when I dined at her howse:	6d
5	Paid Anthony Sevall of Greate Shelsley, tailer, for 2 daies in making my blue & red mohere peticote, trimmed with 3 gould laces abowt him, and his diett:	1s
7	Gave Goodwyfe Piggett for helping at Bradward from Friday till Munday folowing:	1s
peticote	For cullering my wollin stockings grasse greene:	4d
Piggett	Bought of an ould walsh woman at Homcastle, 13 yeards of fine flanills, twilly wise, at 9d & better:	10s
hose	Paid Mr William Knight, tailer, his bill for furnishing up my black duch serge gowne, as followeth:-	
9	canvas, buckram and whale bonne:	2s 8d
flanills	1 yeard 3 quarters of white jeine fustean: ¹⁴⁸	2s 6d
Worcester gown		
10		

9li 5s 1d tru cast


¹⁴⁸ This list of goods bought from Knight continues on the next folio.

1645	Dissbursement at Heriford & Homcastle etc.	[f.] 62
June		
10	for 3 dozen demy of black silk lainig [lining?] lace to	
	trim my black duch serge gown & kirtle:	11s 4d
	for an ounce of black silk to sow on the lace:	2s
	for half a quarter of black tafetye to face the sleeves:	20d
	for 3 yards of black riband to face down before:	2s 6d
	for 3 yards of other riband:	9d
	for 3 quarters of white callicow & ½ of black:	18d
	for hoocks & eyes:	2d
	To Mr William Knight of Worcester, for	
	making this gowne & kirtle of black serge;	
	strupped [stripped] downe the bodies & skirts	
	with black silf [silk] lace:	12s 6d
som totall	Item—the serge for this garment being	
of this blak	10 yards, cost 6s a yeard in Heriford:	3li
serge gowne	For soft red wax—2d; for 9 litle nuttmeggs, 1 ounce:	5d ¹⁴⁹
4li 17s &	For a paier of cordovan gloves at Clifton:	1s
7d abated.	& for mending a paier>of< Gould imbrotherd gloves:	2d
to send Willm	For new dressing and diinge a bever hatt:	18d
Ingrams wyf	For an ounce of very good tobacko at Worsester:	1s
	Paid John Piggett of Clifton, for going to Bradard:	8d
	Gave Margitt Medowcoort, for washing my	
	handkerchers when Joyse Simons was at Heriford:	6d
	For shuing my bay mare rownd, & fore drink:	18d
horse shuing	For a quarter of a lb of lickeres—6d; and aniseed—4d:	10d
28	Gave litle John Jeffreys nurce, Margret Nott:	1s
July	Gave Jane Medowcoort for finding my purce	
11	and my silver-plate for my spectakles:	6d
Saturday	Paid James Merick for gowing[?] with a letter to Bradard:	9d
the 12 day	For 4 litle baskitts to give my 4 litle cosins:	4d
Generall	Paid for dressing & diing my black serge gowne:	3s 6d
Garitt cam	I gave Thomas Harris for bringing hit from Worcester:	6d
cam to Ham-	I gave my cosin Mary Ansley at Homcastle:	4li
castle with		
.. with him		
& went away		
on Sunday ¹⁵⁰		
August	Gave David Williams, the baily, at Homcastle:	6d
2 ¹⁵¹	Gave a poore woman of Clifton, Joane Howell:	2d


¹⁴⁹ The cost of the nutmegs, which is missing, was presumably 3d.

¹⁵⁰ Griffiths suggested the visitor in question was the royalist governor of Worcester, General Sir Gilbert Gerrard. Griffiths, 'Joyce Jeffreys', Part 2, 4.

¹⁵¹ This date refers to the entry re Mary Ansley.

21	Paid Thomas Harris for a litle booke he bought me called Hygiasticon, or the right course of preserving health: ¹⁵²	14d
22	Item—half an ell of blue riband for strings:	3d
	For removing my bay mares 4 shuse:	4d
tobacco	Paid Isack Robins for an ounce of tobacco he bought for me at Worcester, in June, 1645:	1s
	I thinke I paid for hit then, as above writen; he forgot it. Mr Rufford bestowed upon my bay mare at Heriford more then the grasse of my gardin, being there 10 daies:	2s
memrandon it never cam to my hands	That the 40s, which I have made a receight off, was paid to John Tomkins of Leominster, which Elyzabeth Newton borrowed to give Mr Humfrey Coningesbies souldier called Wanerton:	40s
	Paid at Elyzabeth Newtons request, which for beere, which Mr Coningesbies souldiers made her fetch:	2s
	[deletion] Paid George Gilding, a joiner, in Heriford, for pulling downe all the dores and shels & wainscot in the closett at the greate chamber-dore of my new howse, being all caried by him and his 3 men into the saw pitt; it cam to:	3s 6d
11li 17s 6d tru cast		
1645	Disbursed at Heriford & Homcastle	[f. 62v]
June	and ells where, 1645	
twice written	Paid Mathias Rufford diet, and a horse, 8 daies in Heriford, being there to poole downe the glasse in the windose and the dores, and in going abroad, both in the cittye and cownty, upon my businis, at 1s a day, with gardin salitts:	8s
	Paid the glazier for pulling down the glass:	18d
	Paid him for cariing hit, and putting hit in to the two greate chests in the gardin:	8d
	Beere for the men that cam with Richard Teage to fetch up the stuffe that Mrs Anne Ailway caused to be sent to his howse, where Serion Hoskins did dwell:	1s
	Gave to those that did help to loade and unlode the stuff with Richard Teage:	4d

¹⁵² Leonard Lessius, *Hygiasticon: Or, The right course of preserving Life and Health unto extream old Age*, third edition (1636). Two other editions are listed on Early English Books Online, the earlier 1634 version and a later edition from 1678.

	Gave John Joiner for helping to cary in the dores, shelves and wainscot, out of the saw pitt in my new gardin into my coache howse:	6d
July	Gave my cosin ould Mr Thomas Blunt and his wife:	1s
	Bought of Mr Henry Meredith, mercer, in Heriford:-	
a gowne	Imprimis—for 13 yeards & a half of fine black	
for Joyse	Flannders chenay, at 3s 2d a yeard:	42s 9d
Simons	for 2 dozen & a half of narrow black silk lace to trim the bodies, sleeves & skirts, 6 laces in a seme:	6s 9d
August	for half an ounce of sowing silk, black:	1s
	for 1 yeard demy of fine scots cloth:	3s
	half a yeard of fine black serge:	16d
	half a yeard of buckram:	8d
	3 quarters of a yeard of red blue calicow:	1s
	2 yeards demy of 4d ribanding:	10d
	whalbon—4d; & half an elle of rone canvas—13d:	19d
August	Item—for making this blacke gowne of Flanders	
lace	phillip & cheny trimmed with narow black silk lace, 6 laces in every seame, in Heriford:	8s
expençe	Paid againe for 8 daies diet for Mathias	
	Rufford & my bay mare in Heriford during the	
this is	tyme of the troubles abroad in the cuntry, at	
8d to much	8d a day for him self, & so for the mare:	10s
September	Paid at Homcastle for removing my bay mares shuse:	4d
	For aniseed water at Worcester:	6d
she [sic]	Paid my cosin Jeffreys half a years diet for my	
6	self and Joyse Simons, due July 19, 1645:	15li
	For blue silk riband, half an elle, to stringe a litle booke:	3d
11	Gave a poore woeman of Clifton:	1d
22	A quart of sack—22d; a Worcester manchet—2d:	2s
	Paid Anthony Sevalle, tailer, for 4 daies work in making up my black serge gowne:	2s
October	Paid, or gave a man rather, that brought me a	
8	letter from Pencomb, that cam from Mr Eaton from	
1645	Heriford:	6d
wages	Paid Joyse Simons a quarters wages, due at Micklmas,	
J Simons	where of 5s is onward of the next Cristmas quarter, for that she went to Heriford with Mr [sic] Anne Ailway, & had [?]:	10s
	I gave Mrs Anne Ailway—1s; and Joyse—1s, to drink at Heriford:	2s
to b[u]y her	Gave Elinor Baraston, the coocke maid, at Homcastle:	12d
a paire	Paid for 3 paier of lamb skin gloves for my self:	2s
of gloves	For a paier of blue wostid sto[c]kings for my self:	5s

1645 November	Disbursed at Heriford and Homcastle, 1645, and ells where	[f.] 63
1	Imprimis—gave David Williams, the bailiff of the Teemes at Homcastle, on Allholand Day, when he gave me a peece of his sidnes cake:	1s
8	Paid for a thousand of smale white pinmes: To [blank] Millman of Clifton, for making me a paier of blak spanish lether shuse; the skin was my own: Paid for half a thousand of flatt headed pinnes at Heriford:	10d 18d 15d
22	For inke—3d; & a quier of cappe paper—3d:	6d
24	I gave litle Betrice Ailway at Homcastle:	6d
24	Let hit be remembred, that I paid Mrs Ellinor Wednester of Broomyeard for 1 yeares interest of 50li, which her father in law, my cosin Richard Browne of Broomyeard, oweth her by my setting, due the [blank] of June last, 1645; paid now: Where of my cosin Browne paid 3li and stopt 20s, which [was] laid out in the shute against Baker & Turner with 5s more, which I owe him, & I made upp the 4li which goes anunt the 25s law shute.	4li
25	I gave John>Jones< [deletion] of Cliftons Wood: For a quart of sack at Worcester:	20 6d 2s
Desember	For a yeard of black tifany to putt over my eyes:	10d
1	For 2 yeards of fine bonlace to put on my	
the other	cosin Harbert Jeffreys band at Cristmas:	4s 8d
band was	For 4 yeards quarter of bone lace for handkerchers, at 20d a yeard, comes to:	6s 10d ¹⁵³
plaine	Gave a litle boy that brought letters from Garnons from ould Mr Francis Geers, for 60li:	1s
10	Paid John Foord of Greate Shelsley, for 12	
flaxen	long ells of flaxen cloth, at 2s 8d the elle:	32s
13	For a quier of white paper—6d; hard wax—6d:	1s
18	For a litle glasse full of aniseed water:	6d
18	I gave John Haris of Heriford, that brought	
28	a letter from ould Mr Phillip Simons to	
January	know yf Joyse Simons weare recovered:	1s
1	At New Years tide, 1645, at Homcastle. Imprimis—I gave my godson, Henry Jeffreys:	2s 6d
	Item—I gave his sister, Margret Jeffreys:	2s 6d
	I gave his 3 litle brethern, Harberd	
	Jeffreys, William Jeffreys & Edmund Jeffreys:	3s
	Gave Isack Robins—2s 6d; Hester Packer—2s 6d:	5s
	Elinor Buraston—2s 6d; Bes Jones—2s 6d:	5s
	Gave Anne Baldwin, Mrs Barkleys maide:	2s

¹⁵³The cost of 4.25 yards of lace at 20d a yard should be 7s 1d.

	Gave Thomas Harris, Mr Barkleys man:	1s
	Gave Anne Litle—2s; and Margret Meddowcourt—2s:	4s
	Gave Jane Medowcoort—1s; to Dick Done—1s:	2s
1	Gave Jack Done—1s; gave the millner of	
5	Aberton, John Gibson—1s; both these are:	2s
poore of	Alowed Humfrey Hardman, the bailiffe of the	
Nene Solers	rents of Nene Solers, out of his accountys,	
paid	one yeares maintenance to the poore of	
Twelf Eve	Nene Solers, due against Cristmas, 1645:	16s
5	I gave William Fido & James Merick:	1s
for killing		
a fox		

9li 1s 11d tru cast

1645 **Dissbursments at Heriford, Bradward** [f. 63v]
January **and Homcastle, & ells wheare**

9	Lett hit be remembred that I did send to Mr	
usse	Francis Geerce of Garnons, the elder,	
	by Mr Mathias Rufford, from Homcastle,	
	for one yeares interest of 250li, which I owe	
	him yett in part of 800li porsion, upon the	
to Mr	mariage of Elyzabeth Acton to his sonne,	
Geers	Mr Francis Geers, the yonger, due the	
9	13 of January, 1645; all thats due now:	20li
	This 20li I rece of Wiliam Gittos of Warton for rent.	
	Gave David Williams, the bailiff, at Homcastle,	
17	for helping to gett my trunke out of the grownd:	6d
18	Gave my litle cosin Jane Nott at Homcastle:	1s
trunk	Gave my cosin William Conyngesby, servitor	
23	at the hospitall Friers with out Widmarsh	
	Gate in Heriford; he cam to Homcastle:	1s
24	Gave William Harris of Bradward, at Homcastle:	1s
diett	I paid my cosin Jeffreys for one quarters diett	
24	for my self and Joyce Simons, my maid, at	
	Homcastle, due the 19th day of January, 1645:	7li 10s
28	Gave my cosin Mr John Nott of Greate Shelsley,	
	for his good will in making a letter of attorney,	
	to receve 541li of William Haris in Heriford:	1s
	For half a quarter of a yeard of bone lace to	
	make up the handkerchers at New Years tide:	4li
	For half a quarter of an elle of fine holand of	
	13s 4d an elle, for my cosin Harberts ruffes I gave him:	20d

February	Delivered my cosin Harbert Jeffreys for his charges,	
1	and Thomas Ramsey with him, when they	
	went to demaund 541li of William Haris of Bradard,	
2	in north porche of the Minster church in Heriford,	
	due on Candlmas Day, 1645; which he failing,	
	I must have the farme of Bradward 6 yeares	
	longer, and the 7th years hard corn crop, & 20 parcels[?]	
	worth of pasture; gave my cosin Harbert	
	now for their charges in Heriford:	15s
2	I gave Thomas Ramsey for his paines then:	5s
14	I gave Timothy Pickeringe of Clifton, that	
	was my valantine at Homcastle:	4d
	To Millman of Clifton for a paier of my shuse:	2s 6d
	To Gayley, his man, for beveridge:	3d
cheeff rent	Deliverd Thomas Walker of Tenbury, as sent from Mr	
	[deletion] George Lea, the kings bayliff, for one wholle	
	yeares cheeffe rent for John Pritchettts howse and	
	the gardin to hit, in Widmarsh Streete in Heriford,	
	due at Micklmas last past, 1645:	18d
	For an aquittance for the same rent:	4d
	I gave Thomas Walker, for his paines to com to	
	Homcastle for this cheeff rent:	4d
20	Paid for 4 simbills[?] for 4 children:	1s
	And for a rownd cake in Lent at Worcester:	6d


29li 3s 3d tru cast

1645	Dissbursments at Homcastle & els where	[f.] 64
February		
23	Sent by Isack Robins to Worcester, to pay for	
	phisick stuff for Joyse Simons of Mrs Lucas, [a]pot[i]cary:	9s
	For a kay to my box thats painted with in:	4d
	Gave Bes Jones, when she went to Brilley:	6d
	For 2 pownd of London sope at Clifton:	9d
March	Gave Thomas Harris, for caringe a leter to Mrs	
1	Anne Ailway to Worcester:	6d
	I sent her also in the same letter:	2s 6d
2	Gave Dick Done, for his paines to bringe	
	my barrill of sope from Heriford to Homcastle:	6d
usse	Paid by the Widdow Collins of Lide, 6 months	
due in	interest for 80li I owe her, due July 13, 1645:	3li 4s
July last	Paid Mr Joshua Ailway at Worcester, for	
1645	a quarter of a hundred of Bristoll sope:	8s 10d
2† 14	For 2 quiers of cap paper at Worcester:	6d

22	Gave my goddaughter, Joyse Nott, 2s 6d at	
15	Homcastle, when her mother went into the north, in to Yeork shere to Fetherston:	2s 6d
21	Gave a man, William Calldo, brought a letter from Pencomb:	6d
29	Gave Mr John Greene, the vicker of Clifton, when I received the comunion of him at Homcastle:	2s 6d
at Ester	Gave Hester Packar, the butler at Homcastle:	2s
30	Gave Eliner Burrason, the coock there:	1s
31	Gave my cosin, serviter William Conyngesbye:	6d
31	Gave Elizabeth Jones, the day maid at Homcastle:	1s
	Paid Elizabeth Joyse Simons, my maid, in full of her M[i]chaellmas quarters wages, 1645; the other half being 5s she rece before:	5s
	Paid her an other quarters wages, due at St Mary Day, 1646, in full for that quarter:	10s
	Gave a poore woeman of Clifton:	1d
	Gave Mary Lane, that cam from the ould Lady Cornwale, from Estham, for my ducks egges:	4d
6li 11s 4d from the top	Paid Mr Bradford of Leom[in]ster, for plowe timber I had of him for Bradward the last yeare:	16s
	Dissbursed at Bradward the whole yeare, 1645:	178li 1s 8d
	Som totall disbursed at Heryford, Bradward and ells wheare the whole yeare about, ending on St Mary Eve, 1645	178li 1s 8d tru 264li 16s 4d

1646 **New dissbursments for the whole yeare following,** [f. 64v]
Aprill **begininge the first day of Aprill, 1646**

1 usse	Imprimis—paid Mr Richard Caswall of Wicton, 6 months usse for 100li which I owe him, due July 13, 1645:	4li
usse	Paid Maud Prichett of Heriford, for 2 yeares usse for 10li which I owe her daughter, Ellinar Prichett, due January 23, 1645:	32s
usse	Paid Mrs Allis Williams of Heriford, widow, 6 months usse for 100li stock I owe her, due November 11, 1644:	4li
	Not paid till now.	
usse	I finde no dissbursment for this boke moore, but that Mathias Rufford payd Mr Francis Geers the elder, of Garnons, 6 months usse for 250li, part of his daughter in law Elizabeth Actons porcion in mariage to his sonn Mr Francis Geers, and was due July 13, 1646:	10li

30li of stok paid, 220li yet due May & June 	Paid Mr Geers the same tyme, in part of the said 250li porsion, due July 13, 1646: There was nothing rece by Mathias Rufford in May and July June, 1646, that belongs to this booke; as for corn & catle, it is written in a litle thick booke.	30li
Aprill	Heare followeth my owne dissbursments, beginning at the first of Aprill 1646, at Homcastle.	
15	I gave my servant, Thomas Griffiths, at Homcastle:	4d
17	Gave Thomas Haris 6d:	6d
Bes Newton was sik	Sent Dockter Johnson 20s and 10s; in all: Paid the Widdow Boraston for spining a wax pownd & a half of stocking yearn:	30s 16d
17	Paid my cosin John Greenebanck for 2 basons:	3s 6d
27	Paid Goody Deakens of Clifton, for weaving 3 dozen of flaxen incle for apern strings: Gave Humfrey Hardman of Nene Solers, when he brought me 12li 17s 4d rent to Homcastle:	6d 2s 6d
	Paid Goodwife Button of Clifton, for 6 weecks tending Elizabeth Newton when she had an ague:	10s
28	Gave Hester Packer Packer , the butler, when she went away from dwelling at Homcastle:	1s
May	Gave [blank] Pickering, the clark of Cliftons church:	4d
1	Gave Shusan Wanklin, she cam to Homcastle:	6d
she [sic] in the Covent Gardin he dwells	I delivered my cosin Jeffreys to disschard[ge] William Ramsey of London, tailer, for a paier of whale bone bodies I had of him:	16s
	Paid the same Goody Deakens for weaving 13 yards of flaxen incle, fyllett bredth:	4d
20	Gave my godson Henry Jeffreys, Wensday in the Whitson weeck, when he went back to Stanford:	1s
	Paid Thomas Haris for an urinall—3d; for cariage—4d:	7d
June	Gave Jack Sheriff, brought a letter from Garnons:	6d
1	Gave Goody Holliman of Clifton, when I dined there:	1s
4 ¹⁵⁴	Gave ould Mrs Burraston of Clifton:	6d
6	Gave Humfrey Hardman when he brought me more rent, being 58s 6d:	1s

53li 3s 5d from the very top, tru

¹⁵⁴This date refers to the entry re Goody Holliman.

1646 June	Disbursements at Homcastle, Bradard and ells where, 1646	[f.] 65
X	I gave Humfrey Hardman, when he paid me in part of Nene Sollers rent: At Homcastle I receved hitt 58s 6d. ¹⁵⁵	1s
10	I gave a man of Heriford, Evan Harris, his howse was burned with out St Owins Gate in Heriford:	4d
18	Paid ould John Jones of Cliftons Wood, for 2 firre staves:	10d
lace for a gowne	Litle Betridge Ailways greene cloth gowne that I gowne [sic], which I gave her, 9 yeards of silk lace, oringe culler & greene:	20d
20	Sowing silk—6d; bone—3d; buckram—3d; in all:	1s
wages	Paid Joyse Simons, my maid, one quarters wages, due at Midsomer, 1646:	10s
20	I gave her to goe to Heriford faier:	1s
24	Gave litle Tom Burghill, when he cam with Mrs Ursula Vaughan & his father to Homcastle:	1s
	Gave the poore Widdow Phillips of Clifton:	1d
29	Paid William Holiman of Clifton, for weaving 1 dozen of welch yearne napkins; I brought the yearne from Heriford redy spunne:	1s
green gowne	Paid Anthony Seveall for making Bety Ailway a greene cloth gowne [that] I gave her:	2s 6d
July 1	I gave Mr James Newton of Bodenham, at Homcast[le]:	1s
2	This Thursday I beganne to pay 3 prechers diet at Clifton, after 3s a weeke; to be put in this booke at Micklmas next, for this quarter.	
for the Parliam[en]t service	Gave Mr Richard Nicholetts, for his frendship to stop my paiing of 100li to Heriford comitty; ¹⁵⁶	10s
	Gave a litle boy to put in his pource:	3d
5	Gave Elinor Hill for finding the silven plate of my specktales at Homcastle:	6d
9	Paid Millman of Clifton for my new shuse: Bought at Heriford faier in June past:-	2s 6d
fruit	Prunes, reasings & corents, of eche 1 pownd; videlicet pruin—4d; resings—6d; & corence—7d:	17d
	Black thrid, 4 ounces—10d; flatt headed [pins] 1000—4s:	4s 10d

¹⁵⁵ The sum '58s 6d' has been written over the line drawn to finish the entry.

¹⁵⁶ By 1646, Aylmer has suggested that it was possible to identify three committees in Hereford, the Sequestration Committee, the Assessment Committee and the Militia Committee, although most surviving documentation refers only to 'the Committee at Hereford'. G. E. Aylmer, 'Who was Ruling in Herefordshire from 1645 to 1661?', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 40 (1970), 379.

23	For knitting 2 wollin cappes:	10d
30	Gave Bes Jones for finding my diamund ring:	6d
August	Gave James Mearick for cariing 8 muscovy ducks egges to my Lady Cornwall to Estham:	6d
5	Paid him for cariing a baskitt of apricocks to Mr [sic] Ursula Vaughan, to Millson:	8d
5	Gave Michael Harvy for finding my duck againe:	3d
	Gave my god daughter Joyse Munne of Cotheridge, that brought me 6 chikins to Homcastle:	2s 6d
10	Paid Dick Done for cariing Betty Ailway home from Homcastle to Worcester, to her mother:	1s
September	Paid for half an ounce of black silk:	1s
3	Gave Humfrey Hardman, when he brought	
8	me 20s rent arere from Thomas>Hinksman< Hardman , in part of his St Mary Day rent at Nene Solers:	1s

2li 8s 2d tru

1646 **Disbursements at Homcastle and** [f. 65v]
September **else where in this yeare, 1646**

12	Paid Elizabeth Holliman for a litle glass of anniseed water from Worcester:	6d
20	Gave Susana Farley and Bes Farrley at Homcastle:	2s
23	Paid Mrs Alis Williams of Heriford, widdow, for arereges of interest I owe her, for 100li due to her:	40s
to chuse a knight for Herifford shere at Leominster	Paid to my [cosin] Jeffreys in gould, when he rodde from home one day, in part of my quarters diett & Joyse Simons, due October, 1646:	5li 6s
October	Item—I paid her the rest of my diett quarter, due October 19, 1646, in full:	44s
19	So I cleered the 7li 10s for this quarter of October 19. For 9 fresh hearing, white, from Clifton:	6d
	Gave Goodwyfe Pickering, that brought them:	2d
	Paid Stefens of Clifton, for 1 paier of lambe skin gloves:	9d
by T Harris	For 2 quier of white writing paper at Worcester:	10d
	Paid Anthony Sevall, tailer, for bordering my stamell peticote a my gowne:	1s
24	Paid againe to Elizabeth Holliman of Clifton, for a litle of aquavite:	3d
	Gave her for bringing hit from Worcester:	3d

	I begann to pay a weeckely diett for 3 prechers in Clifton, from Thursday the second day of July, 1646, unto Thursday the first day of October, being 14 weeckes, after 3s a weecke for 14 weeckes; I gave it out of my well meaning to maintaine the weeckly lecturer at Clifton upon Teame:	42s
November 1	Gave Bes Jones, the dey maid at Homcastle, for well makinge the seednes cake and well feeding the braune there:	1s
Sonday sturgion	Paied for the one half of 2 barrills of sturgion to eate at Homcasle:	20s
	Mrs Barckley paid so much more—20s. Item—I paid for cariage from London of the one half, and her[?] paid so much too:	5s
Friday 6	Gave Arther Nott, the baily, for a peece of his seednes cake:	1s
wages 16	Paid Joyse Simons, my maid, a quarters [wages] due at Micklmas, 1646, when she went to Worcester:	10s
20	Paid Stefens of Clifton for 4 paier of lamb gloves skin gloves, at 8d a paier:	2s 8d
rent Nene Solders	Gave Humfrey Hardman, when he brought me 15li, in part of Micklmas rent of anuety from Nene Solers:	2s 6d
20	Gave Mary Fareley at Homcastle:	1s
24	Sent ould William Calowhill, by Elizaber [deletion] Holiman, when he was sick:	6d
Desember 5		

14li 1s 11d tru


1646	Dissbursed at Homcastle and ells where	[f.] 66
Desember	this yeare, 1646	
5	Paid for a new russet hatt of felt to give my cosin Harbert Jeffreys, from London:	15s
	Gave Captaine Garnons ladde that brought the hatt to Homcastle:	6d
	Gave Humfrey Hardman more, for bringing me more rent from Nene Solers, due at Micklmas last, 1646:	18d
	Paid Humfey Hardman for to distribute to the poore of Nene Solers, for 1 yeare, due at Cristmas last, 1646:	16s
	Paid Pickering, the smith, for 2 irons to putt in my smoothing iron or steelle: ¹⁵⁷	10d

¹⁵⁷ The words 'or steelle' have been added under the line drawn to finish the entry.

Tuesday 8 of De- cember 12 day	About 12 a clocke at noone, Samuell Jeffreys, my cosin William Jeffreys 8th sonne was born, and baptised after the new drectory on Saturday, God bless him,	
midwife	I gave Mrs Lewes of Tedston, the midwife:	5s
	I paid for 4 yeards of tinsell riband, to give my cosin Margitt Jeffreys at New Years tid[e]:	3s 4d
phisick	Paid Mrs Lucas of Worcester, apoticarier, for phisick stuff for Bes Newton when she had an ague at Homcastle:	19s
phisick	Paid for a litle phisick for my self then:	2s 6d
	For half an ounce of tobacco:	6d
tape	For a whole peece of toback tape for herelaces:	1s
	For 2 quarts & a pinte of clarit wine:	20d
	For a quier of white paper—5d; & browne—3d:	8d
	For a dozen of thrid poynts:	3d
16 Mrs Ailway usse Mrs Willim	I sent Mrs Ailway, when she lay in at Worcester: Paid Mrs Alis Williams of Heriford, the yonger, 1 yeares usse for 100li stock, due to her mother Mrs Allis Williams, widdow, in Heriford, being due to her May 12th, 1646; she fetched it at Homcastle:	2s 6d 8li
John Bery 40s to account for	I delivered John Bery, my new man, at Homcastle in Cristmas, to begin his first dissburssments at Bradward, the second day of January, 1646— he went first thither to dwell; delivered him upon his accownts:	40s
	And gave for good handsell: ¹⁵⁸	2s
last	Paid Mr John Greene, viker of Clifton, for tobacko and 4 pipes from Clifton:	5d
January 1	Imprimis—I gave in New Years gifts at Homcastle Imprimis—gave my godsonne Henry Jeffreys: Item—gave Harbert Jeffreys the yonger, William Jeffreys, Edmund Jeffreys, 1s a peece:	2s 6d 3s
	Gave Richard the coock & John Aldern the butler:	5s
thats	Gave Thomas Harris—1s; & John Done & Michall:	2s
3s in all	Gave George Millard, the ould bruer: At Homcastle, gave Joyse Simons:	6d 2s

14li 7s 8d tru

¹⁵⁸ The manuscript is damaged in the centre of this word, but it seems fairly clear that Joyce offered him a handsel, a token of good luck or a present at the beginning of a New Year, or the start of a new job. It is also found in the accounts of Lady Grisell Baillie; R. Scott-Moncrieff, ed., *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692–1733* (Edinburgh, 1911), 260.

1646	Dissbursed at Homcastle and ells where	[f. 66v]
January	in the year 1646	
1		
4	Gave Mr William Harris of Bradward:	1s
wine	Paid for a bottle of sack & a bottle of clarit:	2s 6d
13	For an allminack of Lillyes making: ¹⁵⁹	10d
	And for an allminack of Gallins making: ¹⁶⁰	4d
	For an other quier of white paper:	5d
at 18	Gave Thomas Haris to drink with Mr Joshua Ailway:	6d
Worcester	Paid Maior Smith for a burning glass	
	he bought me at London:	4s
19	Gave James Watis, that cam to see me at Homcastle:	1s
22	Gave Mr Richard Nicholletts for drawing a leace in trust to try the title of Wharton with ould Mr John Hackluit, for 10 yeares, to my cosin William Jeffreys:	10s
27	Gave 2 men that cleaved wood for my chamber:	4d
February	Paid the carier of Ludlow, for caring	
8	a pack from London, with a black stuff gowne,	
2d a lb	a grete shuger loffe weing 29 pownde:	4s 6d
	Item—paid for a shuger loffe for my owne	
	usse at Worcester, at 21d a pownd:	8s 3d
	The grete loffe of 11lb I gave my cosin Jeffreys after Cristmas, 1646.	
grete loffe	Paid Mrs Johnson of Worcester, for a very litle water for my sore eyes, by Dockter Johnsonnsons [sic] direction:	2s 6d
	How I disbursed the 20li I rece of Mr Peter Nash of the Free Towne, as foloweth.	
	Imprimis—I gave Mr Pe Mathias Rufford for his charges in riding abowt my business:	5s
12	Gave William Smith for dressing Mr Ruffords lame hors at Homcastle:	6d
27	Paid Thomas Haris for a pownd of figges:	4d
	And for a bottle of sack from Worcester:	20d

¹⁵⁹ William Lilly, *Merlini Anglici ephemeris 1647* (London, 1647). Lilly, who in his youth was in the service of a salt merchant, became interested in astrology in his early thirties; he published his first almanac in 1644. He was sympathetic to Parliament and puritanism, first inferring the end of the Stuart monarchy, and then more explicitly predicting the downfall of Charles I, and overtook John Booker as the foremost parliamentary astrologer. P. Curry, 'Lilly, William (1602–1681)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 29 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16661>]. B. Capp, 'Booker, John (1602–1667)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 30 December 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2865>],

¹⁶⁰ Thomas Gallen, *Gallen. 1647. A new almanack for the said year* (London, 1647).

	Gave Thomas Haris for his paines:	4d
	Paid for a paier of band strings for John Alderns holand band & ruffes, that I gave him:	4d
diet	Paid my cosin Jeffreys for a quarters diett for me and my maide, Joyse Simons, due January 19, 1646:	7li 10s
usse	Paied Mr Francis Geers of Garnons, the elder, 6 months tolerasion for 220li, part of his daughter in lawe Elizabeth Actons porsion, due January, 1646:	8li 16s
Mr Geers paid Caswall usse	Item—I paid him in 20li of the 220li, and so now I owe Mr Geers just 200li; I say paied him:	20li of stock
	Paid Mr Richard Caswall 1 yeare demy usse for 100li, due January 1646—12li—and he toke but:	11li
this bond renewed to his dau Tansey	and forgave me the other 20s. Paid William Bufton of Clifton: To James Mearick for [g]oing to Heriford for Mr Wiliams: Gave Goody White at the Forge:	2d 2s 6d

49li 13s 0d

1646 **Dissbursed at Homcastle, in the moneth** [f.] 67
March **of March 1646**

usse	Mr Mathias Rufford paid the Widdow Collins of Lide by Heriford, for 1 yeare & halfs tolerasion for 80li I owe her, due to her in January the 13, 1646:	9li 7s
renewed the bond to her daughter	The other 5s she forgave me to b[u]y wine. Mr Mathias Ruford delivered to John Bery to b[u]y cattle at Bradard:	20li
out of Peter Nashes 230li. usse	And he delivered more to John Bery for to bye cattell at Bradward: He paid Mrs Williams of Heriford, widow, for 6 months usse for 100li, which I owe her & was due the 11 of November last, 1646:	9li 4li
the stuard clark crier	Mr Rufford paid Mr Richard Nicholas, atorney, his feese, for Phillip Wallis surrender: Paid Mr Blackway, the clark of the coort: Paid the crier in the Byshops coort of Hollmer: This coort was houlden abowt Mickaellmas last by Mr Richard Nicholas, for the king & Parliament, where Phillip Wallis did surrender to my usse, in the Bishops coort, 5 akers of tillage in Challow feeld, in the parish of Hollmer.	2s 6d 2s 4d
Phillip Wallis surrender		

92li 11s 10d from the top	Dissbursed at Bradward the whole yeare abowt, in all maner of things, with billeting of sowldiers and all ells, ending the 31 and last day of March, 1646:	250li 7s 10d
	Som totall dissburssed upon this booke and Bradward booke for the whole yeare abowte, in all maner of charges, enging [ending] the last day of March, 1646: Written at Homcastle.	426li 13s 10d
1647 Aprill	New dissbursments for the whole yeare abowt, both at Bradward, Homcastle and in all places ells where, begining at the first day of Aprill 1647, at Homcastle.	[f. 67v]
1	Imprimis—gave Will Hay for coming from Bradward to Homcastle:	1s
3	Gave a man that [brought] a letter from Robert Whittier:	2d
19	I lent my cosin John Nott of Greate Shelsley: Ester Munday, gave Humfrey Hardman, for bringing me 17li 1s 10d in part of my St Mary Day anuety, 1647, from Nene Solers:	20s 2s 6d
21	Gave him to beare his charges to Wenlock, when he went with my brother H Coningesbies will to shew hit to the jury, to extend Mr Fitzwilliam Coningesbies land in Shropshire, for his dett to Sir Thomas Allin of London:	5s
24	Item—I gave Humfrey Harman, when he cam back from Wenlock in most rainy wether, in a great fludd, and lost his jurney:	10s
25	Deliverd Humfrey Hardman, at his jorney to Shorsbery [Shrewsbury?] to shew the will to the jurye there that I had right to 100 marks per annum, to give the undersheriff of Shropshire from me:	20s
26	Paid Thomas Harris for a pownd of figges: And gave him for his paines: Gave a poore woeman of Clifton, Joane Phillips: Gave Elizabeth Holiman, when she went to Wiggmor faier, 25, St Markes Day:	6d 3d 1d 6d
diett	Paid my cosin Jeffreys for 1 quarters diett for my self & Joyse Simons, due Aprill 19, 1647:	7li 10s
May 3	Bought at Bromyard faier by Joyse Simons, 9 elles demy of hurden cloth for Bradward sheetes, at 16d an elle:	12s 8d

	She bought there 20 elles>demi< of hurden more for sheetes, at 15d ob an elle; cost:	26s 6d
	Gave Joyse to drinke with her that sould it:	2d
	And gave her to drink her self:	2d
5	Paid my cosin, cosin Mary Rufford of Rosse, for for [sic] a paier of curlings irorn she bought in at London:	2s
6	Gave Mr Thomas Nicholls at Homcastle:	1s
to John	Gave James Mearik for cariinge a letter to Bradard:	10d
Bery	Paid Mrs Alles Williams of Heriford, widow,	
11	in full paiment of 100li I owed her upon bond, due the 11th of May, 1647:	100li
my cosin	And wheras there was 4li due for the 100li	
Jeffrey	the 11th of May, 1647, she toke butt:	40s
paid it	I allowed my cosin for his charges to Heriford: when he went to the comitties about lending the Parliament 20li, which I did: ¹⁶¹	20s 20li
	I gave William Aingell, a poore scoller, to furnish him to Oxford, at Mr Vicker Greenes request:	2s 6d
	Gave ould Nurce Burraston:	1s
	Gave Mary Farley and Bes Farley:	1s
15	Paid for a quier of white writing paper:	6d
18	Gave ould John Haris of Nene Sollers:	6d

135li 18s 10d tru cast

1647	Dissbursments at Homcastle & ells where	[f.] 68
May		
22	Gave Robin Wood, that brought me water cresses:	4d
	Paid for cariinge up a letter & [deletion] 2 bonds to my cosin Jeffreys to London to shue [sue]:	4d
interest	I paid my cosin James Briges for 2 yeares demy tollerasion for 100li, due July 23, 1646:	20li
by Mr	I sent my cosin Briges, in part of 100li	
Barkley	I owe him upon my single bond:	60li
31	Paid Anthony Sevall for making me a wast-	
31	cote, and Bes Newton an other:	18d
June	Gave Mr Mathias Rufford at Homcastle:	2s 6d
4	Gave ould Thomas Callowhill:	2s
	Deliver[ed] Bes Newton, to give Giles Newtons children:	6d

¹⁶¹ On 13 May, 1647, an ordinance was issued by Parliament for 'securing of all those that advance 200, 000l. for the service of this Kingdom and of the Kingdom of Ireland'. Interest was to be paid at 8 per cent per year. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642–1660, Volume I, 5th March 1642 to 30th January 1649* (London, 1911), 928–9.

7	I gave Humfrey Hardman of Nene Sollers,	
Humfrey	for going to Shrewsbury to shew my brother	
Hardman	Humfrey Conyngesbyes will to Sir Thomas	
	Allins comysioners, when he would have seasoned	
	upon the lordship of Nene for Mr Fitz-	
	williams dett, upon an extent for [it],	
	and would a had my anuety from me also,	
	I say I gave Humfrey Hardman then:	10s
Hardman	Item—I allowed him for contrebusion at Nene:	3s 6d
	Item—he and I miscounted, which I lost	
	in cownting 7li 1ls 8d of the rent he brought me:	20d
8	Gave Nurs Nott, when [she] brought litle Samuell	
	Jeffreys home at Whitsontide:	1s
10	Gave my godsonne Hary Jeffreys at Whitsontide:	1s
Hollmers	Paid in feese to Mr Richard Nicholas, stuard,	
coort	at Hollmers coort, when my cosin Jeffreys	
	was admitted tenant for Wallis 5 akers	
	of tillage in Challow feeld in Hollmer:	5s
	To the under stuard, Mr Thomas Blackwell,	
	for his feese then:	5s
feese	To the crier of the coort:	6d
there	My cosin Jeffreys had a letter of atorney from	
	me to be admitted tenant for me in trust,	
	A bill of stuff bought for Joyse Simons	
	of her 2 bretheren, Mr Robert and Mr	
	Thomas Simons, mercers, in Heriford, that I gave her,	
	Imprimis—for 4 elles of fine	
a gowne	8 yards of half of hearcoller italiano, 4s a yeard:	34s
for Joyse	Half an ell of roane canvas to line the bodies:	1s
Simons	Half elle of buckram—10d; whalbon—6d; both:	16d
	12 dozen of gould and sillver titt buttons:	4s
	1 quarter and half an ounce of silke to sow it:	10d
	1 yeard half of cullerd callicow:	2s
	1 elle of white callicow:	18d
	3 yeards of 3 peny riband:	9d
som ys	Past boord—2d; 3 yeards of silk & silver flatt	
	lace to lace downe the bosom—9d; in all:	11d
2li 9s 8d	1 busk—4d; a rowle—18d; galoone—2d;	
tru cast	serge—16d:	3s 4d

84li 4s 6d tru cast

1647 June	Disbursed at Homcastle and ells where	[f. 68v]
	Stuff for myself bought at Heriford of Mr Robert Simons & Mr Thomas Simons, mercers, of Heriford.	
	Imprimis—for 4 elles of fine bagge holland, at 4s 4d:	17s 4d
	Item—2 elles of strong holland at 3s 6d an elle:	7s
	I ounce of black [sic]—2s 6d; riband, 1 elle—7d:	2s 7d
	2000 of London pinnes—2s; 2000 pinnes—18d:	3s 6d
	6 yeards of heare culler 2d riband:	1s
	12 yeards of fine bare millian, at 14d a yeard:	14s
	6 yeards of fine white dimity, or birds eyes, at 2s 4d a yeard, cost:	14s
	For 4 ounces of Exitor wosted black in graine:	2s 8d
	For 2 yeards of hearculler homes fustian:	3s
3li 11s 1d this side	I yeard and half of red cloth for Bes Newtons wastcote at 4s a yeard at 4s the yeard:	6s
	Gave yong Charls Wallwin, brought sack & money:	12d
100li paid my cosin James Briges	I sent to my cosin James Briges of Worster, the rest of the 100li I owed him in full by Mr William Barkley, and 60li he paid him before as apeares on the other side of this paper:	40li
17	I paid Mr Richard Nichollats, attorney, in full paiement for a fine at the chainge of a tenant, videlicet, Phillip Wallis went out and I, Joyse Jeffreys, was rece tenant to 5 akers in Challow feeld in Hollmer; the fine cam to:	25s
wages	I paid Joyse Simons in full of her Midsomer quarter, 1646 1647—5s—and 5s she rece afore:	10s
wages	And I lent her onward of her Micklmas quarter to com, 1647, then she went to Herifford faier: ¹⁶²	5s
19	For half a lb of licorass—8d; & so much aniseede—8d:	16d
24	Gave Margret Daley of Cotheridge, Thomas Calowhills daughter of Lulley:	1s
29	Gave Anne Litle when she went to Hassfeeld:	2s 6d
July	Gave an ould woman of Clifton:	1d
1	Gave my cosin Edward>Freeman< and his 2 sisters,	
4	Elinor Freeman and Joyse Freeman:	30s
4	Gave yonge Richard Collins wyfe and>5< children that cam out of Ireland; she was my cosin Thomas Childes daughter:	1s
5	Gave for collering a paier a paier of greene stockins—4d; gave Jack Done for bring[ing] them home from Worcester—2d; thats in all:	6d

¹⁶²The phrase 'then she went to Herifford faier' has been written above the line drawn to finish the entry.

14	Gave Aldern>John< and the ould coock—1s a peece: ¹⁶³	2s
hops	Paid Mrs Elinor Wednester of Bromeyard	
15	for 135 pownd of hops, that I bought of	
	her 7 yeares agonne, at 3li a hundred; in full:	4li
19	Gave servitor William Coningesbye:	1s
20	Gave Joyse Simons for finding my guilt spoone:	6d
23	Gave Ursula the washing maid:	1s
26	Gave my cosin Anne Nott, the yonger, and her	
	sister Joyse Nott, when they went to Fetherstonne:	5s
	For mending the cover of my warming panne:	4d

51li 18s 4d tru cast

1647	Disbursements at Homcastle & ells wher	[f.] 69
June		
1	These parcells of wares followinge, my cosin William Jeffreys and his wyfe bought for me at London, in the begining of June, 1647.	
London	Imprimis—paid for 6 elles of fine holand at 8s 6d the ell:	51s
	Item—for 6 elles of fine holand at 7s 6d the elle:	45s
	For 6 yeards of fine jaine fustian, white, at 16d the yeard:	8s
	Item—for 9 yeards of black silk prunelo to make a gowne at 14s 6d a yeard broad:	6li 10s 6d
at 2s the	For 30 yeards of fine black silk bone lace:	3li
yeard	For 1 ounce demy of silke to sow on the lace:	3s
	For 4 dozen of black buttons:	8d
Mr Rich	Item—for 6 yeards of black silk riband to border	
Stockwall	down the bosom and down to the grownd:	3s
bought this	For 1 yeard demy of fustian:	2s 6d
	Half a yeard [of] serge to border abowt:	2s 6d
	For 1 yeard demy of fine sackcloth to line the bodies:	3s
	Item—paid for a good medley cloth cloake with great silk buttons downe before; cost redy made:	3li
	For 3 yeards of watched blue silk, broad:	4s 6d
	Ribanding to make me a paaire of garters:	18d a yeard
	For half a pownd of nuttmeggs:	3s
	For half a pownd of large mace:	7s 4d
	For 5 quiers of lardge fine writing paper:	2s 6d
	For 5 quier of paper at 4d a quier:	20d
white	For 2 ounces of whited browne thrid:	1s
thrid	Item—1 ounce of white thrid:	8d

¹⁶³ The words 'a peece' have been added over the line drawn to finish the entry.

bought	Item—1 ounce of whited browne thrid:	4d
by my cosen	Item—more whited browne thrid:	2s
Jeffreys	This is all the London errants at this tyme.	
at London	At Heriford faier, June 20, 1647.	
bought	Imprimis—paid for half a yeard of stuff more	
by Joyse	for Joyse Simons gownd that I gave her:	2s
Simons at	For making [t]he gowne, or rather peticote	
Heriford fair	and wastcote, to John Lewes of Heriford:	8s
	For 2 dozen more of tit buttons, gould:	8[?]
	For sowing silk for the same:	3d
	For 1 yeard of canvas to lap the gown in:	1s
	Item—for me of an ould dett to Mr Robert	
	Simons, of holand and wostid:	5s
	Item—for 1000 of pinnes, a midling sise:	2s 8[d]
	Item—paid for 10 elles of fine flaxen	
	cloth to make smocks, at 3s 2d an elle:	31s 8d
when thei	For drink for the woeman that sould the cloth:	2d
went in	Gave my cosin Anne Nott & her sister Joyse:	5s
to York	For a yeard of riband at Clifton:	2d
shere	Gave Joyse Simons to her fairing of Heriford:	1s
August	Gave my cosin Harbert Jeffreys, for fetching	
4	me 10li from John Bery at Bradard:	2s 6d
6	I gave ould George Nott of Clifton:	1s

22li 13s 3d tru cast¹⁶⁴

1647 **Disburssed at Homcastle, where I dwell,** [f. 69v]
August **and ells where, 1647**

7	On Saturday August 7th day, heare weare 2 of	
Mr Robt	the fellows of Brasennose in Oxford, my landlords,	
King &	to whom I paid half a yeares rent for Bradward	
Mr Richard	farme, due at St Mary Day, 1647:	14li 6s
Roberts	Item—I gave then to beare their charges:	40s
7	Item—I gave Anne Baldwin, when she went	
9	away from Homcastle to mary John Aldern:	1s
12	Gave Dick Rouls that brought a long letter from Wanford:	6d
	I paid my cosin Jeffreys, out of money receved	
diett	at London of Mr Richard Stockwall, for one quarters	
	diett for me & my maid, Joyse Simons,	
	due July 19, 1647:	7li 10s

¹⁶⁴ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £22 14s 9d.

	My cosin Jeffreys was pleased to dissburs for me at Heriford Assises in August, 1647, as followeth,	
Mr Hoskins	Imprimis—he paid, or gave, Mr Benitt Hoskins, to help to plead my cause with Mr Hackluit of Warton:	10s
Heriford	He paid for his diner & his men on Tewsdlay:	4s
Assises	Item—for hors mete there:	4s
August	Paid in Heriford—supper and breckfast on Wensday:	13s 6d
usse	Paid Margrete Collins>usse for< the 80li stock that	
Margit	I owed her, in full paiment for 7 months,	
Collins	where of 6 months was due July 30, 1647:	3li 4s
	And on[e] month more dide runne onne:	6s paid
	Paid in her 80li and made even.	
150li be-	Item—I paid by my cosin Jeffreys then to Mr	
hinde	Francis Geers of Garnons, in part of 200li:	50li
	With 8 months tolerasion, due July [blank], 1647:	8li
13	Gave Mrs Anne Ailway at Homcastle:	2s 6d
31	I gave the boat man & the Fordge men, when my cosin Nott & my cosin Katherin Homes went to see the iron works at Shelsley: ¹⁶⁵	1s
September	I gave my cosin Joyse Burghill, that [brought]	
3	me a shuger loffe to Homcastle:	15s
10	Friday, my cosin Katherin Homes went to	
my cosin	Worsester, and went toward London on	
Homes	Monday, folowing in Parshare waggon; I gave her:	40s
	Moore I gave her to give the maids at	
	Homcastle, & the man cock & horskeeper;	
Homes	and so she went to wards London:	2s 6d
	Paid Elinor Pritchett after her mothers	
	death—she cam to Homcastle—paid her half	
	a years tolerasion for 10li I owe her upon	
	bond, due [blank] of July, 1647:	8s
Worcester	For 1 quier of browne paper at Worcester:	3d
faier	Joyse bought me a paier of blue worsted hose:	5s
Lady Day	I gave ould John Jones of Cliftons Woode:	6d
21 ¹⁶⁶	Gave James Mearick for cariinge a duck & a	
23	drake of the muscovye breede to Mrs Ursula Vaughan:	6d
24	Gave him for cariing such a duck & a drake	
	to my god daughter Geers, to Garnons:	18d

170li 15s 9d tru cast¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ When Philip Foley took over the Stour Valley Iron Works from his father in 1669 the business had a number of furnaces, forges and slitting mills in the area, including a forge at Shelsley; R. G. Schafer, ed., *A Selection from the Records of Philip Foley's Stour Valley Iron Works, 1668–74*, Part I, Worcestershire Historical Society (Leeds, 1978), 1.

¹⁶⁶ This date refers to the entry re John Jones.

¹⁶⁷ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £90 15s 9d.

1647 September	Disbursed at Homcastle, wheare I dwell now, and ells wheare	[f.] 70
26	Paid for 2 litle segge matts: Gave Goodwyfe Pickring for bringing them to Homcastle[?]:	2d 2d
27	Sent Mrs Anne Aillway, by Bes Newton, to Worster:	1s
27	Gave John Done for ridinge with Bes Newton:	6d
	Gave Anne Gaunt, when she went from Homcastle:	6d
October	Gave Elizabeth Clark, the bruer at Homcastle:	6d
6 ¹⁶⁸	Gave a poore woeman of Harpley that had the pallsey:	2d
7	Gave John Lennis of Leominster:	6d
16	Gave Mr Thomas Nicholls at Homcastle:	1s
16	For a botle of sacke—22d; & gave John Done [deletion]—2d:	2s
16	Gave Mr William Harris when he went to Oxford:	2s 6d
usse	Gave Mr Thomas Veinoll of Heruford, when he paid me 2 yeares demy tolerasion for 50li, due June 29, 1647, 10li in full, gave him:	40s 40s
	Gave Mr Nathaniell Moorley, when he brought me 10li from Mrs Cowper of Worcester, widdow:	1s
18	Gave my litle cosins Margret Jeffreys, Harberd, William and Edmund Jeffreys, when Humfrey Hardman Humfrey Hardman paydd me part of	
anuety	Nene Sollers rent for my anuety, due at Micklmas, 1647:	2s
Nene	Gave Humfrey Hardman the same tyme: I alowed Humfrey Hardman the same time for contribuson momey [money]:	2s 6d 22d
Thursday	I alowed him, to pay Tipping for 3 contribusions:	6d
28	Paid my cosin Jeffreys 1 quarters diet for my self and my maid Joyse Simons, due October 19, 1647:	7li 10s
Thursday	Gave my cosin Harberd Jeffreys to pay Mr Adiss his surjon, for setting his broken legge:	20s[?]
29 at Hom- castle		
November	My cosin Harberd Jeffreys died abowt 12 a clock at noonne, when his left legge legge cutt off	
1	was cutt off closse under the knee on Monday, Alholand Day. He brake his legge at Clifton, 23 day, in the hole of a yeat post anunt Anthony Borastons howse, and was caried in to that howse Saturday, and was caried home to Homcastle on the morow.	

¹⁶⁸ This date refers to the entry re Elizabeth Clark.

and was buried on Wensday the 3th day in Cliftons chancell	And as soone as his>legge< [was] cutt off (by 2 surjons of Worcester, Mr Marshall and Mr Addis, he died, I gave Mr William Haris of Bradward, at Homcastle: 1s I gave Mary Farley at the buriall of him: 1s For a [deletion] stonne jugge of sack at 16d a quart: 22d Gave Barnebye Williams for bringing me 10li: 1s
9 hunny	Paid Mrs Eliner Wednester of Bromyard, for 2 quartes of hunny: 4s And for a ellow crock to putt hit in: 2d Gave Abrahame Stefens wife of Clifton, glover: 6d Gave Mr Thomas Stef Veinolls man, braught me a letter: 1s For tackes to putt on the lock of my box, 60 in all: 1d
Munday 15 150li paid in full of 800li porsion & made even	I delivered my cosin Jeffreys, to goe to pay Mr Francis Geers of Garnons, the ellder, in full for his daughter in laws porsion 100li—and 50li more he receved of Mr Veinoll in full; both was: 150li Item—I paid Mr Geers for 2 month tolerasion over and abover [sic] the 6 months end: 40s So I praised God all the 800li is paid, & we are even.

163 19s 11d tru cast¹⁶⁹

1647	Dissbursment at Homcastle & ells where	[f. 70v]
November		
16	Gave Anne Litle, that brought me 2 glasses of rose water from her mistress, on[e] of red & one of damask rose water: ¹⁷⁰	1s
22	For cariinge a letter to London to Mr Poule: My cosin Jeffreys paid the clarck for writing an order grannted by the comitties of Heriford, that at 6 weecks ende I shall have my rent again, which they wrongfully toke off me:	2d 2s 6d
order	Item—my cosin John Pave, the dore keeper of the comitties chamber in the Pallas of Heriford:	1s
24	Gave my godson Henry Jeffreys, when a went to Stanford to scoole from Homcastle:	1s
26	Paid a brauling felow, the Worcester cariers man, that brought me a letter from Mr Henry Powle, from London:	1s
Desember	Gave 3 poore woemen of Clifton at tymes:	6d

¹⁶⁹The figures for this folio as given above actually total £163 17s 5d.

¹⁷⁰Red rose water was commended as 'wholesome', but damask water had the 'sweetest of smell'. It was recommended by Coghnan for all the principal parts of the body. Coghnan, *Haven of Health*, 91. In the London Dispensatory, red roses were said to be good for the heart while damask roses refreshed the spirits and acted as a purge, Royal College, *Physicall Directory*, 51.

1	I sent my cosin Mary Ansley, by Mr Francis	
my	Brookes, servant to Mr William Browne	
cosin	of Hashfeeld, at the request of my neece,	
Mary	Elizabeth Browne:	4s [40s?]
Ansley	Gave Mr William Harris at Homcastle:	6d
10	Gaves James Farley at Homcastle:	1s
	I paid to fill up the botle of sack	
2s 6d	which my god daughter Geers bestowed onne	
she left	me; she paid 2s 6d & I paid 6d:	6d
with J	Desember 16—gave Mr James Newtons daughter	
Simons	that cam to borow 40s for her father:	6d
to b[ul]y hit	Gave Edward Loveland, bailiff of the Teemes	
	at Homcastle, for a peece of his seednes cake:	1s
16	Gave Ursula for finding the red cornelion>ring<	
	that was my cosin Harberd Jeffreyses:	6d
Mr	I sent Mr William Knight of Worcester,	
Knight	tailer, for making my black stuff gowne,	
	by Mr Nathaniell Moorley:	8s
	Paid Thomas Tailer of Worcester, a tailer, for	
	making divers parcells of work for Mrs	
	Elyzabeth Acton before she was maried,	
	in full payment for all work don for	
28	her untill this present 28 day of Desember,	
	1647:	50s
	I gave her 20li to pay for her weding	
	clothes, so that is not to be accountd heare.	
	I paid this 50s to hir yeong man John Harris	
	at Homcastle & toke a note of receight of him,	
memirandon	That my cosin, Mrs Jane Jeffreys of Homcastle,	
childe	was delivered of a daughter abowt a quarter of an	
borne	howre before 9 a clock at night on Thursday	
called	night, being Christmas Eves eve, and the 23 day	
Joyce	of Desember, 1647; & hit was baptised on the Monday	
	following, being St Johns Day, 27 day, 1647, and	
	and named Joyce. Ould Mrs Barckley and my self,	
	Joyse Jeffreys, weare gossips, God blesse hitt, amen.	
	Hit went home with Nurce Nott to the Smeeths in Greate	
	Shelsley parish the same Munday after diner to nurce.	

5li 8s 2d tru cast¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ The figures for this folio as given above actually total £6 13s 2d.

1647	Disbursements at Homcastle & ells where	[f.] 71
Desember		
27	Gave the midwyfe Goodwyfe Lewes	
Munday	of Upper Tedston, the christning day:	10s
	Gave Nurce Nott the same day:	10s
Desember	For a dozen of thrid points:	2d
January	Paid for 2 quartes of sacke to give Mr	
1	Barckley to his New Years gift:	3s
	Gave my cosin William Jeffreys and his	
	wyfe 2 shugerr lofes, being both [deletion]	
	xi powndes to their New Years gift:	22s
1	Gave my god sonne Henry Jeffreys:	2s 6d
	Gave my litle nephews, Harber Jeffreys,	
	William>&< Edmund Jeffreys, to eche 1s, in all:	3s
	Gave Anne Litle, I gave:	5s
1	Gave Bes Jones, Ursula, and Bes Clarck:	6s
	Gave ould Richard Willkinson, the coock:	2s 6d
1	Gave William Burraston, the buttler:	2s 6d
	Gave my neece, Margrete Jeffreys, a paire	
	of gloves with ellow tops:	2s
	Gave Margrete Medowcoort, Margrete Wright,	
	Elizabeth Newton & Joyse Simons 2s eche:	8s
	Gave William Smith—1s; & John Done—1s:	2s
1	Gave Tome with the red head:	4d
	Gave Mary Fareley, brought half	
	a pownd of shugger to me:	18d
4	Gave Goodwyfe Button of Clifton, that brought	
	a pott with preserved lemon	
	from my cosin Mrs Betridge Freeman, widdow,	
	of [deletion] Coston in Shropshire:	4d
	Gave Joyce Munn of Cotheridg, my god daughter:	2s 6d
1	For 8 tobacco pipes:	1d
5	I paid Humfrey>Hardman< out of his account—when	
poore of	he brought me the resedue of my Micklmas	
Nene	rent from Nene Sollers, 1647—for 1 yeares	
paid	maintenance for the poore of Nene Solers,	
	due at Alholandtide, 1647, in full:	16s
	I gave Humfrey Hardman for briinging hit me:	2s 6d
	I gave the gardiner, John Suler, and Richard Coombe	
	for setting sweete brier rootes in Homcastle walk:	6d
	To a poore woeman Joanne Hussey:	6d
13	To William Buffton—3d; & for browne paper—3d:	6d
	To Mr Nathaniell Moorley for specktakles:	6d
	For a bottle of white wine at Worcester:	1s—1s [sic]
20	Gave Piggett of Clifton & his felow for	
	cleeving blocks at Homcastle woodpile:	6d

24	Gave Mr Nathaniell Mooreley for telling 20li that I receved of my cosin John Barneby of Brockinton, in part of 60li, his fathers dett, at Homcastle:	1s
	Paid for mending my sillver poringe dish:	1s
diett 7li 10s	Paid my cosin Mrs Jeffreys of Homcastle for a quarters diett for my self and Joyce Simons, my maid, due January 19, 1647:	7li 10s
	Gave Newman, the carier of Worcester, that brought me a letter from the bowcer of Brazennose:	6d

7li 17s 11d tru cast¹⁷²

1647 **Disbursments at Homcastle** [f. 71v]
January **and else where**

28	Paied Mr Richard Nicholetts, attorney, that he laied out this Hillary tearme for charges against William Gittos, tenant to the farm of Warton:	27s
40s to	Item—I deliverd Mr Nicholetts, to goe forward with the shute in Hillary term also:	40s
Mr Nif[c]ho-	Item—I gave Mr Nicholetts to drink wine:	10s
letts	Gave Goodwife Pickering of Clifton:	4d
February	Paid Mary Farley for spinning 3 quarters of a wax pownd of fine woolle for my hose:	10d
7		
10		
February		
March	Gave James Mearick for car[ry]inge a letter to John Bery to Bradward:	1s
1	For a pownd of figges:	6d
3	Paid Mary Farley for knitting me a paier of fyne wollin hose, lemmster ore woolle:	16d
5	I gave her to pay her tailer for alltering a black gowne that I gave her:	1s
6	Gave Dick Rowles, that brought a basskitt with a peece of shugar[?], a dozen of [deletion] oringes and a quart of aniseed water to me from Mrs Rufford of Rosse:	1s
8	Gave Mr Thomas Nicholls at Homcastle:	1s
	Gave Mr William Haris, when he cam from Oxford to Homcastle:	1s
forgott till now	Gave Mr Nath[an]iell Moorley, when he receved 10li of Mrs Cowper of Worcester, widow, in part of Mr Giles Lawrance dett in July last, 1647; I gave hit him:	1s

¹⁷² The figures for this folio as given above actually total £12 17s 11d.

15	For a simnill—6d; a quart & 2d more of white wine—1s:	18d
	Gave Mr John Greene, vicker of Clifton, for my offering at the comunion at Ester, 1647:	2s 6d
	Gave Mary Farley to pay for her offering at Martley against Ester, 1647:	6d
	Gave a poore woeman of Badley Wood, Mrs Francis Rogers sister of Heriford, deceased:	3d
Oxford rent	Wheras I owed to the Principall and scolers of Brazennose Colledge in Oxford, for arereges of rent for the farm of Bradward, due at Mickaell- mas last past, 1647, the som of 72li 14s 3d q q,	
at Hom- castle	I paid to Mr William Ottwell [deletion] alias Stefens, a butcher in Oxford, by the apointment of Mr John Haughton, burcer for the collegde, in part of the above written 72li 14d 3d q q, in the presence of Arther Nott & Joyce Simons, as my aquittans sheweth of the 13 of March, 1647:	40li
lamb skin	Paid Abraham Stefens of Clifton for 3 paire of gloves:	2s 9d
24	I gave a poore minester and his wyfe, John Powell, that weare goinge to the Parliament to London to begge releeffe, being plundred at Ludlow by Sir Michaell Woodhowse & his souldiers of all they had:	1s

44li 14s 6d tru cast

1647 **Dissbursments at Homcastle** [f.] 72
March **and ells where**

27	I gave John Done for going with Bes Newton to Mrs Collins:	4d
	Gave Mr Vicker, John Greene, at Ester:	2s 6d
	Gave Mary Callowhill of Leominster:	1s
	Gave Mr Timothy Burghill at Homcastle:	1s
	Gave Nurs Nott, Joyse Jeffreys nurse:	1s
	For mending my shuse—new soling:	10d

nootes[?] fully taken to the place in relacon to Mr Rufford¹⁷³

¹⁷³ This is written in a different hand, probably that of Joyce's nephew, William.

**A noate taken the 17^o 8br [October], 1650,
of such debtes as are were due by
bill or bond to my Aunte Jeffreyes
videlicet:**

Imprimis—Thomas Chippe of Barterestree in parochia Dormillton in commitatus Herrford and Elyzabeth his sister in a bond of a 100li to pay 52 in Aprill 11, 1639:	52-00-00
James Rodd & Humfrey Rodd to pay 7li by bond the 10th of January, 1643:	07-00-00
John Lewis, glover of Hereford and Richard of Lancillo in commitatus Brecknoke in a bond to pay 20li in November, 1638:	20-00-00
Mr Richard Blashfeilde to pay 10li June the 23th, 1644:	10-00-00
James Barroll of Hereford & John Pinnocke of the same to pay 50li by bonde, June 30, 1640:	52-00-00
Isacke Weaver & John Weaver to pay 20li by bond, 16 December, 1634:	20-16-00
Sir Robert Whitney & his sonn to pay 52li by bonde in March, 1639:	52-00-00
Miles Hill to pay 20li, January 30, 1638:	20-00-00
Mr Harbert Aubery & Francis Spencer to pay 52li February 1, 1638:	52-00-00
John Leech, Thomas Church of Herefford & Francis Leech to pay 62li:	62-00-00
Francis Unett to pay 50 by bond 10br [December] 14:	52-00-00
Thomas Gwillam & John Greene to pay to pay [sic] 10li, June 15 ^o , 1642:	10-00-00
Mr Richard Stockwell to pay 31 the 29 ^o of November, 1647:	31-00-00
Citts Wotton, William Addams & William Wotton to pay 104li the 14 ^o day of January, 1650:	104-00-00
Mr Northrones bond & willes to pay 50li 1 ^o August, 1650: ¹⁷⁴	51-00-00
William Harris to pay 10li by bond 29 10br [December], 1645:	10-00-00
Thomas Weaver of Aymstrey, Robert Weaver & Isacke Weaver of Steppleton theyre bond to pay 60li, December 9, 1639:	60-00-00
William Harris bond to pay 4li 6s 8d the 10 day of Aprill, 1650:	04-06-08

¹⁷⁴This entry is partly crossed out, but I have included it in the total.

Mr James Seabone[?], Phillip Simonds by bond to pay 20li 16[s], 10br [December] 23, 1642:	20-16-00
Thomas Dauncer to pay 52, July 17, 1638:	52-00-00
Item—Charles Gibbons & Humfrey Badborne of St Martins de Campis & of St Clements to pay 20li & 16s, the 20 day of November, 1633:	20-16-[00]
Item—Mr Peter Dancer, Arthur Dancer & Garnons Dancer to pay 52, July>17< 1638, for 6 moneths:	52-00-00
Item—Mr John Hackluite & Miles Hill to pay 50 stocke, Auguste the 7, 1641:	52-00-00
Item—Mr Thomas Nunn of Dilwyn & Mr Allexander Nunn of the same to pay 30li stocke, January 2, 1640:	30-00-[00]

[Total £845 14s 8d]

June the 23th 1651

[f.] 73

Item—Mr John Price of Brecknoke, Humfrey Berrington of [?]hampton in commitatus Herfford & James Seaborne to pay 104li, the 15 day of August, 1634:	104-00-00
Item—Mr John Price & Humfrey Berrington to pay 52li, Aprill 27, 1636:	52-00-00
Item—Mr Thomas Hackluit, Humfrey East & John Duppa to pay 80li, June 9th, 1626:	80-00-00
Item—John Duppa of Eardesley in commitatus Herefford et Richardus Rogers de Allensmoore to pay 10li 8s, November 7th, 1637:	10-08-00
Item—Mr Wallopp Brabson and his sonne Mr Henry Brabson, theyre bond of 300li dated 18 day of August, 1650, to pay 162, August 18, 1651:	162-00-00
Item—Mr Wallopp Brabson his bond of 100li, dated 28 ^e day of August, 1650, to pay 50li, the foworth day of July, 1651:	50-00-00
Sir Robert Whitney, John Carpenter and Thomas Gough in 200li to pay Mistris Jeffreys 104li, dated the last day of February, 1638:	104-00-00
Sir Robert Whitney & his sonne to pay 52li in October, 1639:	52-00-00
Mr John Dansey & Mr Thomas Edmonds to pay 40li stocke, dated the 6th day of Aprill, 1634:	40-00-00
Christopher Dew & Mr John Hide to pay 10li 8s, December 1633:	10-08-00

Item—delivered to William Reade my Aunte
Jeffreyes hir will the 22th day of July, 1651,
to shew to Mr Powle & Mr Mathew
Ruffords attorney.

[Total £664 16s]

Appendix I

Hereford City documents

The listings reproduced in this appendix have been included to illustrate the economic and social status of some of the individuals named in Joyce's accounts, and their roles in the administration of the city of Hereford.

1. Lay Subsidy of 1624 HAS BG11/17/4/46-7

The assessment of the first fifteene for Widmarshe Warde within the City of Hereford taken the sixth day June 1624

Jonas Meredith gen	iiis
James Powell	iis
James Barroll	iiis
Edward Androes	xviiid
Roger Seyborne	xiid
John Chamberlen	iis
John Ch]nce gen	iiis iiiid
William Bull	xiid
John Hoskines ar	vis viiid
George Rawlinges	xviiid
William Steade	iiiiid
Symon Reese	iiiiid
Frauncis Pember	vs
George Bridgwaters	xiid
John Prise	xviiid
Thomas Church senior	iis
Thomas Church junior	xviiid
Edward Bayly	xiid
Thomas Hill	vid
John Clarke gen	iiis iiiid
John Phillips	xviiid
Richard Payne Tayler	viiid
Thomas Alderne gen	iis
John M]nington gen	iiis iiiid
James Clarke ar	iiis iiiid
Anthony Higginges	vid
Robert Holt	xiid
Henry Byford gen	xviiid
Ralphe Nicolas	xiid
Thomas Clarke	iis

John Warden ar	iiis iiid
Frauncis Herringe	iiid
John Evans	iis
Thomas Williams	iiid
Ales Grysmond vid	xiid
Thomas Mason	iis
Richard Bullocke	xiid
Richard Evans gen	iiis
William Norman	iis
	3-13-4

Extra portam	
Thomas Towsie	xviiid
Richard Eysham	xiid
Roger Gowlдинг	vid
Thomas Wancklen	vid
John Yonge	vid
Whoper cooke	iiid
James Warncome	xviiid
John Harper	xiid
Wm Seyborne sadler	iis vid
Mychaell Herringe	xviiid
Thomas Lowe	vid
Edward Wattis	iiid
Richard Wancklen	vid
William Byworth gen his lands	iiis
Phillip Symondes gen	iiis iiid
Richard Maholland	xviiid
David Prise	4d
Katherine Hering vid	4d
Katherine Dyer vid	4d
Thomas Flingham[?]	4d
Walter Adames	xviiid
John Drewe the joyner	vid
Michael Watkines	iis vid
[deletion]	
Roger [?]	4d
Thomas Winey	xiid
William Wallis	iis[?]
Richard Gravell	iis
[deletion]	
John Baddam	iiid
George Exton	vid
John [?]	4d
[deletion]	
Thomas Mercer	4d
Clement Moore[?]	4d

Rowland Hinton	vid
John Hussey	vid
Richard Hussey	vid
John Smith gent	iis vid
Robert Morgan gen	iiis
John Byckett	vid
Mrs Joyce Jefferes	iiis iiiid
Widowe Coughe	vid
Lewis Hunt	vid
Samuell Parsons	viiid
William Eysham	viiid
Roger Prichard	xiid
George Redfeme	xiid
Philip Towsie	xiid
Walter Delehay	iis
John Swayne	vid
Johan Lewis vid	xiid
Harry Irishe	iiiid
2-12-8	2-13-0[?]

Landes in Widmarsh Warde	
The landes of Sir Thomas Coningsby in the occupacon of John Smyth gent	iis
The landes of Thomas Fletcher in the occupacon of Mrs Jefferes	iis
The landes of Epiphan Haworth ar in the occupacon of John Mayoos [deletion]	vis viiid
The landes of Mr Boddenham in the occupacon of William Eysham	iis vid
Wilcox landes in the occupacon of [blank] in Burfott Rowe[?]	xiid
Garnons landes in the occupacon of [blank] in the Burfott Rowe	xiid
Kyrles landes in the occupacon of [blank] Burfott Rowe	vid
Sir Thomas Conisbys landes in the occupation of Walter Adams	vid
Herringes landes in the occupacon of Henry Herringe and James Harries	vid
Mr Kerrys landes in the occupation of Georg Ralings	xviiid
[deletion]	
William Slades lands occupation of Simon Res[cor viid?]	
& Raphe Kingston & Steade	xiid
[illegible] Philipp Symonds	
Richard Evans	

whereof there is allowed to the Clarke for
 his attendance and for writing & engrossing this estreate iis
 Sum ~~6-17-8~~
 7-0-10

Petty collectors
 James Barrall &
 Raphe Nyckolas

2. Lay Subsidy assessors, 1624 HAS BG11/17/4/51

[Names of assessors appointed according to the act of parliament for the assessing of the third subsidy and the third fifteenth in Widmarsh Ward, Hereford 1624]

xls Phillipp Symondes gent
 John Clarke gent
 John Chynne gent
 John Monington gent
 xls Richard Evans gent
 Jonas Meredith gent
 Thomas Church jun
 John Smith gent
 James Barrall

3. Enfranchised citizens, 1627/8 HAS BG 11/17/4/56

[26 February 1627]

The names of those that made choice of the Cittizens of the Citty of Hereford for this next parliament vizt of John Scudamore knight & baronett and John Hoskins esquire sergeant at lawe [all signed their own name]

Ric Weaver maior
 Antho Pembruge
 John Warden
 J[ohn?] Clarke
 Edward Rawlynes
 John Sivell
 James Redde
 Phillipp Symondes
 Thomas Clarke
 James Lane
 Philipp Traherne
 Will Cooper
 J[?] Harris
 Ric Veinall

John Taylor
James Carwardine
Richard Evans
Jonas Meredith
Richard Edwin
Thomas Curthose
Walter Walles
Richard Phillpotts
Thomas Church
Thomas Symondes
Henry Melinge
Edmond Aston
James Barrall
James Scryvener
Tho Blaque
Peter Jones
Anthony Hill
Christ Dewe
Francis Lyde
William Daniell
William Boyle

Thomas Weaver
Harry Hill
Thomas Morris

4. Churchwardens of Hereford, 1623–1649, HAS BC63/1

All Saints' Parish Hereford Churchwardens' Account Book, 1619–1664(5)

- 1623 Walter Delahay and Thomas Blackway
- 1624 Thomas Blackway and Thomas Church
- 1625 Thomas Church and Rowland Rees
- 1626 Rowland Rees and Thomas Symons
- 1627 Thomas Symons and James Barrall
- 1628 James Barrall and William Willcox
- 1629 William Willcox and Thomas Clark
- 1630 Thomas Clark and William Norman
- 1631 William Norman and John Lewis
- 1632 John Lewis and Christopher Smith
- 1633 Christopher Smith and Philipp Symonds
- 1634 Philipp Symonds and William Price
- 1635 William Price and James Powell
- 1636 James Powell and John Rees
- 1637 John Rees and Edward Trahern
- 1638 Edward Trahern and Phillip Benny

- 1639 William Branch and Edward Trahern
- 1640 Edward Trahern and Richard Chamberlayne
- 1641 Richard Chamberlayne and Thomas Church
- 1642 Thomas Church and Thomas Weare
- 1643 Thomas Weare and John Rawlings
- 1644 John Rawlings and Edward King
- 1645, 1646 and 1647 Edward King and Henry Meredith
- 1648 Henry Meredith and James Smith
- 1649 James Smith and Mr William Maylard

5. Mayors of Hereford, 1623–1649 (from R. Johnson, *The Ancient Customs of the City of Hereford* (London, 1868), 172

- 1623 William Cowper
- 1624 Thomas Aldern
- 1625 Richard Veynol
- 1626 James Lawrence
- 1627 Richard Weaver
- 1628 James Carwardine
- 1629 Richard Evans
- 1630 Jonas Meredith
- 1631 Richard Edwins
- 1632 Thomas Curthos
- 1633 Anthony Pembridge
- 1634 Walter Hall
- 1635 Richard Philpotts
- 1636 Thomas Church
- 1637 Thomas Symonds
- 1638 Henry Melling
- 1639 James Barrol
- 1640 Edmund Aston
- 1641 David Bowden
- 1642 William Price
- 1643 Thomas Rogers; Philip Trahern
- 1644 John Cowper
- 1645 William Carter
- 1646 William Philips
- 1647 Richard Philpotts
- 1648 Edward King; Thomas Seaborne
- 1649 Thomas Seaborne

6. Names of individuals sitting as court jurors for Widemarsh ward, 1636–41
HAS BG 11/4/5 Tourn Court Records 1625–42

1636

Philip Symonds jnr
Walter Delahay
Thomas Clarke
Richard Parsons
Thomas Parsons
Michael Herringe
Walter James
Thomas Luggard
Thomas Evans
John Rawlings
Rowland Hinton
Roger Gowldinge
Philip Wallis
Samuell Parsons

1637

William Evans
Thomas Parsons
William Rawlings
Thomas Luggar
William Heyward
Edward Traherne
Lewis Hunte
Rowland Hinton
William Symonds
Samuel Parsons
John Rawlings
John Beavan
Richard Cowcombe

1638

John Traherne
Michael Herringe
Thomas Luggard
William Heyward
John Gilbert
Thomas Evans
Thomas Parsons
William Rawlings
Thomas Davies
Richard Parsons
James Warnecombe

Edward Traherne, baker
Walter James

1639

Thomas Clarke
John Traherne
John Rawlings
Thomas Evans
Thomas Luggard
Richard Teage
Philip Price
Roger Goldinge
Thomas Davies
William Hayward
Roger Simons
Samuella Parsons
John Tandy

1640

William Maylard, mercer
John Rawlings
Michael Herringe
Philip Price
William Hayward
Thomas Evans
Richard Parsons
John Tandy
Roger Goldinge
John ap Thomas
Thomas Davies
Rowland Hinton
Thomas Mathoes

1641

William Maylard
Edward Traherne, girdler
John Rawlings
Edward Traherne, baker
Thomas Church jnr
Thomas Clarke
John Traherne, corvisor
Richard Teague
John Tandy
Thomas Evans
William Rawlings
Roger Symonds
Thomas Davies

Appendix II

Persons listed as debtors in Joyce Jeffreys' accounts

Persons listed as debtors in Joyce Jeffreys' accounts [n = 145]. For name variants, please see Index of Names.

ACTON, Richard
ADAMS, William
ALDRIDGE, Anthony
ANSLEY, Edmund
ASTON, Edmund
AWBREY, Harbert
AWBREY, Richard
BADBORNE, Humphrey
BADNIDGE, Thomas
BAKER, Philip
BARNEBY, Thomas
BARRALL, James
BASKARVILE, Charles
BERINGTON, Humfrey
BIRT, John
BITHELL, James
BLASHFEELD, Richard
BOND, John
BOND, Thomas
BRABAZON, Henry
BRABAZON, Wallop
BRADFORD, John
BRIDGES, John
BRIDGWATERS, Walter
BROWNE, Richard
BULLOCK, William
BURGHILL, Isabel
BYFORD, Mr
BYFORD, Mrs
CAMM, William
CARADIN, Francis
CARPINDER, John
CASWALL, Henry
CASWALLE, Thomas
CHIP, Thomas
CHIPPE, Elizabeth
CHURCH, Thomas

COLLINS, Richard
COOCKE, Widow
CRESSWELL, Roger
CURTEOUS, Thomas
DANCER, Arthur
DANCER, Garnons
DANCER, Peter
DANSEY, John
DAWNCER, 'ould Mr'
DEW, Christopher
DUDSON, James
DUPPA, John
EAST, Humphrey
EATON, John
EATON, Thomas
EDMONDS, Thomas
EISHAM, Henry, Harry
EISHAM, William
FREEMAN, William
GEERCE, Francis, junior
GIBBONS, Charles
GILES, George
GILES, John
GOUGH, Thomas
GREENE, John
GUILLAM, Thomas
HACKLUIT, John
HACKLUIT, Thomas
HARRIS, William
HERIFORD, Roger
HIDE, John
HIGGINS, Christopher
HIGGINS, Jane
HIGGINS, Richard
HILL, Miles
HOWORTH, Richard
HUNT, Lewes
KNOWLES, Guy
LACON, Edward
LAWRANCE, Giles
LEECH, Francis
LEECH, John
LEWES, John
MERCER
MINORS, John
MORRIS, William
MUN, Alexander

MUNN, Thomas
NASH, Peter
NEWTON, James
NORMAN, Richard
NORMAN, Thomas
NORMAN, William
NORTHTRONE, Mr
NOTT, John
PACK, Matthew
PAGE, Mr
PARLIAMENT
PEARLE, Henry
PEMBER, Thomas
PINNOCKE, John
POWLE, Daniel
POWLE, Thomas
PRICE, John
Richard, of Llancillo
ROD, Humphrey
ROD, James
ROD alias NORMAN, Joan
ROGERS, Richard
RUTHEN, Patrick
SALWAY, Edward
SCRIVENER, James
SCULL, Miles
SEABORNE, James
SEABURN, John
SEABURN, Richard
SELWIN, Mr
SIMONS, Joyce
SIMONS, Philip
SIMONS, William
SMITH, Thomas
SPENCER, Francis
STEADE, Edmund
STOCKWALL, Richard
TOWLDERVILLE, Oliver
TRAHERN, Edward, girdler
TRAHERN, Philip
TRANTER, Francis
TURNER, Thomas
UNET, Francis
VEINALL, Thomas
VICKERS, Thomas
VIE, Thomas
WALLE, John
WALLIS, Philip

WALLTON, Walter
WALLWIN, Edward
WANKLIN, William
WEAVER, Isaac
WEAVER, John
WEAVER, Robert
WEAVER, Thomas
WEECKS, Sybil
WHITNEY, Robert
WHITNEY, son of Robert
WHITTINGTON, Edmund
WOTTON, Catts
WOTTON, William

Appendix III

Transcript of Joyce Jeffreys' will

Currently held in the Family Records Centre, reference PROB 11/24

In the name of God, Amen: the seaven and twentieth day of June in the yeare of our lord god one thousand six hundred forty and eight and in the twenty fourth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord King Charles of England &c, I Joyce Jefferies, spinster, daughter of Henry Jefferies of Home Castle in the county of Worcester, esquire, deceased, being in good health and memory, blessed be god therefore, though aged and subject to infirmity, doe make this my last will and testament in manner and forme following. First, I bequeath my soule into the hands of almighty god my maker, saviour and preserver, and my body to the earth whence it came, to be interred in the south isle of the church of Clifton upon Tembe where my said fathers was interred, & being the usuall place of buriall for our family, trusting that I shall, at the greate day of the generall resurrection, receive it againe an interruptible body, and by the alsufficient mercies and merritte of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to be made partaker of eternall glory. And as concerning that worldly estate which god hath bestowed on me here I doe first revoke renounce and disanull to all intents and purposes all other wills and testaments whatsoever by me at any time heretofore made, declared or published. And I herby will, devise and ordain that all such debts as I owe of right or in conscience be paid by my executor. And wheras I was appointed by my deare mother the Lady Kettleby, deceased, to leave unto my good sister Katherine Freman, deceased, the sume of thirty three pounds six shillings and eight pence in case I did not marry, I will that the same be paid accordingly to the executors of my said sister Freeman to be disposed according to her will, desireing they would be pleased to employ the odd three pounds six shillings and eight pence towards the binding of my couzen Elizabeth Muncklands sonne apprentice, to whom I conceive it now belongeth by the intencion of my sisters will. Item, I give and bequeath to my neece Elizabeth Browne five pounds to buy her a ring with a diamond to weare in remembrance of me. Item, I give and bequeath to my neece Mary Ansley, daughter of Edmund Ansley, esquire, the sum of one hundred pounds, desireing my executors to imploy it or sett it forth for her within one yeare after my decease, and to pay her the interest yearly from that time dureing seaven yeares, if in the meane time she marry not by the desire and consent of her Aunt Browne and my

executor, and at the end of seaven yeares after my decease or at her marriage, by my consent of my executor ~~and at the end of seaven yeares after~~ and her said Aunt, to pay to her the said hundred pounds. Item, I give unto my couzen Edward Freeman all such goods utencells and implements of houshold as remaine in the mannor howse of Neene Sollers and belonge unto me as executrix of the last will and testament of my deare brother Humphry Coninsby, esquire, deceased, and to his three sisters [daughters], Ellinor Freeman, Joyce Freeman and Ursula Freeman, I give them twenty pounds apeece to buy them rings, desireing them to accept of these smale remembrances. Item, I give to my beloved couzen Jane Jefferies, wife of my nephew William Jefferies of Home Castle, esquire, my hattband of orientall aggatte cutt in divers figures and my ring sett with a table diamond, and to her daughter, my pretty couzen Margaret Jefferies, one hundred pounds and halfe a dozen of silver spoones marked with J. J., the interest of the hundred pounds to be paid unto her from her comeing to the age of sixteene yeares untill shee shall come to the age of one and twenty yeares or be married with consent of her parents and then to have the said hundred pounds. Item, I give unto my said couzen Jane Jefferies my greatest Venetian looking glasse to be used by her dureing her life and afterwards to remaine to her sonne my couzen Henry Jefferies as a standard at Home Castle, and I give to my couzen Henry Jefferies forty pounds to be paid unto him when he shall accomplish the age of sixteene yeares, and to every other of the children of my said nephew William Jefferies that shalbe liveing at the time of my decease I give one hundred pounds. Item, I give to my beloved neece Anne Jefferies Nott, wife of Mr John Nott of Great Shellesley, my great silver tankard and a gilt bowle and I doo remmitt and forgive unto her fifty one pounds and tenn shillings which was due unto me from her said husband for arreares of rent out of their lands in Great Shellesley aforesaid. To her eldest daughter, my couzen Anne Nott, I give my hatband made of border pipes sett with pearle and my bigger silver bowl with a long handle and one of my new silver spoones, and to her and to every of her foure sisters that shalbe liveing at the time of my decease I give twenty pounds a peece to be paid within three yeares next after my decease, and to every of them a silver spoone, being sorry that my fortune hath beene so broken that I cannott enlarge these bequests as I would. I give and bequeath unto my nephew and godson John Jefferies, the elder, one hundred pounds and one of my two midlinge silver bowles to be paid and delivered within three yeares next after my decease. To my beloved couzen Elizabeth, the wife of Mr Charles Phillipe of the Heath, I give five pounes. To Susan the daughter of my neece Joane Farley, now wife of [blank], I give twenty pounes, and to her sisters Mary Farley and Elizabeth Farley twenty pounds a peece, desireing my executor to take care of them, to advise them in their marriages, and to sett out their legacies for

them, and to pay them the interest thereof every halfe yeare. And if either of them dye before marriage, the legacie of her dyeing to be devided betweene the survivors. To my couzen James Farley I give tenn pounds, and to my couzen Richard Barnes tenn poundes, to be paid them within one yeare next after my decease. To my servant and goddaughter Joyce Symonds I give one hundred pounds, to be paid unto her within three yeares next after my decease, and one feather bedd and boulster with two blanketts and a redd coverlett mingled with greene, one pillow and two paire of welche yarn sheets. Item, I give, devise and appointe unto my servant Elizabeth Newton one hundred pounds, which is now in the hands of James Seabarne of Withington and secured by the morgage of certaine lands unto me, it being a stock which I have raised and saved for her out of her wages and interest money. And I give more unto the said Elizabeth Newton, one anuitie or yearly rent of twenty shillings to bee paid unto her yearly dureing her life out of my lands and leases on the twentieth day of March and the twentieth day of September by equall porcons. And also I give unto her one feather bed and boulster with two blanketts and a wollen coverlett and two paire of hempen sheets toward the reparation of her losses of sheete and other linnen when my howse was plundered. And I desire my executor to take care of her and her stocke that shee bee not abused in trusting the same to my late servant Mary Davis now wife of Joseph Ayleway. I give five pounds to Margarett the wife of Phillip Cooke of Hereford, I give the ring that was her owne and twenty shillings in mony and I remitt unto her what mony I formerly lent unto her. I give to the sonne of Elizabeth Gorten als Phillipps, deceased, forty shillings towards the binding of him apprentice when he shalbe fitt to be putt to a trade, desiring my executor to see it imployed accordingly. Item give to the poore of the parish of Clifton upon Tembe tenn pounds, to the poore of Neene Sollers five pounds, and to the poore of Cotheredge forty shillings, to be distributed in the said severall parishes by the discretion of my executor. And I further will that tenn pounds given to the poore of Neene Sollers by my brother Humphry Coningsbyes will be accordingly distributed amongst them or remaine as a stock for them, the interest thereof haveing beene duly paid hitherto. I will, devise and ordaine that my servant man that shall attend me at the time of my decease shall then have a mourneing suite and cloake and that every one of my servant maides that shall then be dwelling with me shall have a mourneing gowne, and that there be fifty pounds allowed for those mourneinge and the rest of my funerall expences. Item, I give and bequeath unto my beloved and well deserveing nephew, the said William Jefferies, all my messuages, burgages, cottages, gardens, orchards, lands, tenements, rents, revercions and hereditaments whatsoever, scituate, lyeing and being in Hereford, Holmer, Withington, Sutton, Marden als Mawarden, Bodenham, Warton, Newton, Brierley, Broadward and Leominster in the

county of Hereford or elsewhere with and singular their and every of their appurtenances, whereof or wherein I have or stand seized of any estate of inheritance or fee simple by conveyance, purchase, morgage or otherwise, to have and to hold all and singular the premises with their and every of their appurtenances unto the said William Jefferies, his heires and assignes, for ever. And I also give, devise and bequeath unto him the said William Jefferies all other my howses, lands, tenements, leases, goods, cattells and chattells, aswell reall as personall, moveable and unmoveable whatsoever or wheresoever unbequeathed, my debts, legacies and funeralls expences first paid and discharged. And I doe herby make, constitute, nominate and ordaine him the said William Jefferies sole executor of this my last will and testament, desiring him to see the same performed accordingly. In wittnes whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name and put to my seale, dated the day and yeare first above written. Joyce Jefferies, sealed, subscribed and published by the within named Joyce Jefferies, to be her last will and testament in the presence of William Berkley, Thomas Eaton, William Baraston.

A codicill to be annexed to the last will and testament of me, Joyce Jefferies of Home Castle in the County of Worcester, spinster, made the third day of Aprill, 1650. Wheras Fitzwilliam Coningsby, late of Hampton Court in the County of Hereford, esquire, did by two severall deeds indented **bearing** grant, sett over and assigne unto me, the said Joyce Jefferies and unto Thomas Eaton of Pencombe in the said county of Hereford, gent., all those the demeanne lands of Marden [blank] als Mawarden in the said county of Hereford, mencioned and expressed in the said severall indentures, to have and to hold to us the said Joyce Jefferies and Thomas Eaton, executors and administrators and assignes, for and dureing the severall tearmes in and by the said indentures severally and respectively limited and declared, I doe herby will, devise and ordaine that the said demeanne lands and all my estate, right title, terme and interest therein, shalbe bestowed and employed for and towards the satisfaction and discharge of one obligation or writing obligatory of the penalty of two thousand pounds, wherby I and the said Thomas Eaton became bounden jointly and severally together with the said Fitzwilliam Coningsby and as his sureties unto John Abrahall, esquire, deceased, for paymentes of one thousand three hundred and fifty four pounds at a day long since past, and that after the full satisfaction of the obligation and debt the said demeanne lands and the rents, issues and profitts thereof, as the remainder of all such mony as shalbe raised by sale of the premises, if any shall soe remaine, shalbe bestowed and employed for and towards the satisfaction of other the debts of the said Fitzwilliam Coningsby in such manner as he, his executors or administrators shall declare or appoint, and not for or towards the payment of any other of my debts or legacies nor to be accompted

as part or parcell of my estate otherwise then for discharge and satisfaction of the obligation and debt aforesaid. In wittnes wherof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale dated the day and yeare first above written, provided alwayes that after discharge of the said obligation and debt aforesaid my executors be first satisfied of all arreares which at the time of my decease shalbe due to me for one anuitie or annuallment of threescore and six pounds thirteene shillings and foure pence to me devised by the last will and testament of my deare brother Humphry Coningsby, esquire, deceased, before any other debts be satisfied out of the premises. Joyce Jefferies, subscribed, sealed and published in the presence of Thomas Eaton, William Boraston, Joyce Symonds.

Appendix IV
Timeline for designated servants and
waged employees

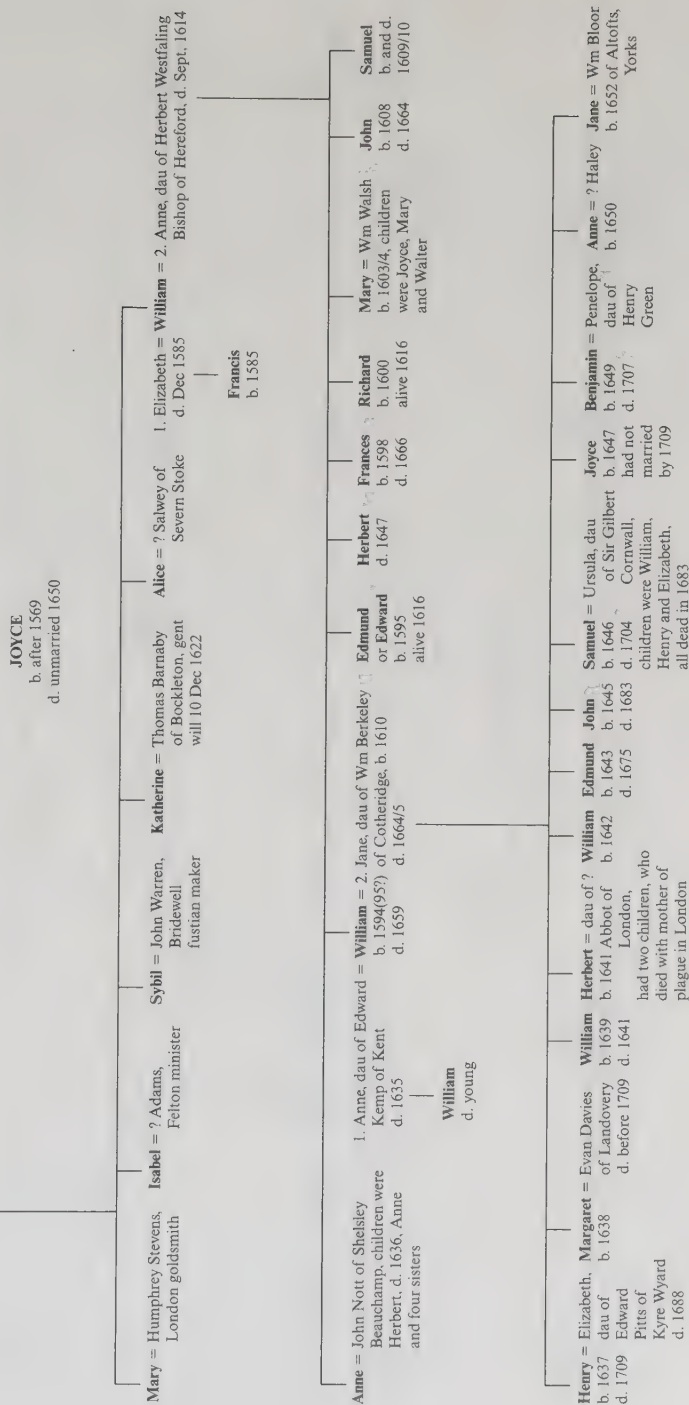
Name	designation	first recorded wage	last recorded wage	wage amount	first mention	last mention
Baddam, Mary	servant				24.08.1641	12.05.1642
Baker, Henry	servant				21.05.1644	21.05.1644
Batch, John		25.10.1639	20.01.1639/40 (left Joyce's service)	12 weeks at 2s per week; 3 weeks at 1s per week; 12s 6d for 3 months	25.10.1639	20.01.1639/40
Beford, Thomas	coachman; servant	24.06.1638	October 1644 (left Joyce's service for his own home)	15s per quarter; or £3 p.a.	24.06.1638	October 1644
Berry, John	'new man'				24.12.1646	March 1647/8
Collins, Mary	maid at Broadward				29.06.1643 (but entry deleted)	23.06.1944
Daniell, Margaret		5.06.1639	5.06.1639	33s for 18 months; or 22s p.a.	5.06.1639	20.06.1639
Davies, Anne (later Ailway)	maid	June 1638	21.06.1641 (married Whitsun Thursday 1641)	20s per half year; or £2 p.a.	18.06.1638	21.06.1641 as Davies (13.08.1647 as Ailway

Name	designation	first recorded wage	last recorded wage	wage amount	first mention	last mention
Goulding Elizabeth (later Winny)		20.04.1641	20.01.1642/3 (married c. 31.03.1643)	5s per quarter; or £1 p.a.	11.12.1640	20.03.1643/4 as Goulding (12.06.1643 [sic] as Winny)
Griffiths, Thomas	servant					
Hacklutt, Elizabeth (later Russell)	maid	June 1638	1.04.1640 (left Joyce's service and married)	15s a quarter; of £3 p.a.	21.05.1644 16.06.1638	15.04.1646 22.06.1640 as Hacklutt (31.03.1643 as Russell)
Harris, John		June 1638	3.11.1638 (left Joyce's service)	10s a quarter; or £2 p.a.	4.06.1638	3.11.1638
Harris, Thomas	servant	May 1641	14.12.1642	12s 6d a quarter; or 50s p.a.	10.03.1639/40	26.04.1647
Hill, Jane	maid at Garnons	16.12.1642	16.12.1642	11s per half year; or 22s p.a.	16.12.1642	16.12.1642
Merick, William	coachman	6.01.1640/41	15.6.1641 (left Joyce's service)	10s per quarter; or £2 p.a.	11.02.1639/40	7.08.1641
Miles, Blanche	Broadward maid	6.11.1640	6.11.1640 (left Joyce's service)	5s 6d per quarter; or 22s p.a.	6.11.1640	6.11.1640
Morris, Magdalen	cook/brewing maid	19.03.1641/2	1.06.1642 (left Joyce's service)	11s per half year; or 22s p.a.	20.11.1641	1.06.1642
Munckland, Elizabeth (married to Edward Munckland)		27.01.1639/40	27.01.1639/40	6s per quarter; or 24s p.a.	3.05.1638	26.02.1643/4 (died on this date)

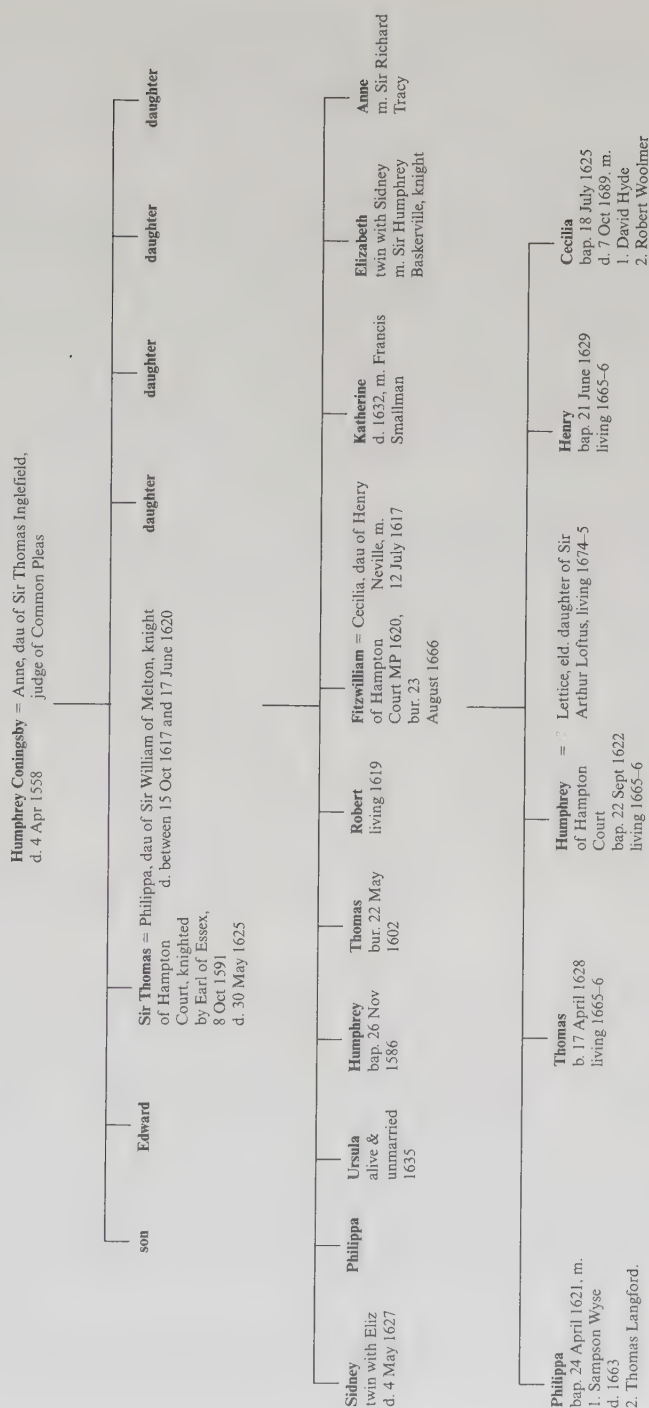
Name	designation	first recorded wage	last recorded wage	wage amount	first mention	last mention
Newton, Elizabeth Pavier, Anne (later Simons)	(servant)	10.10.1640	10.10.1640	5s per quarter; or £1 p.a.	June 1638	27.03.1647/8
Powell, Joan	maid	1.06.1640	17.05.1641	11s per half year; or 22s p.a.	10.10.1640 1.06.1640	19.03.1644/5 17.05.1641
Reece, Simon	parish clerk	14.04.1638	4.07.1643	8d per year (for her contribution as parishioner)	14.04.1638	4.07.1643
Rufford, Matthew		July 1638	17.02.1642/3	40s per half year; or £4 p.a.	23.01.1638/9	22.07.1651
Simons, Joyce	maid (servant) and goddaughter	1.02.1642/3	19.06.1647	10s a quarter; or £2 p.a.	1.02.1642/3 as maid (25.12.1638 as goddaughter)	15.03.1647/8 19.01.1646/7 14.04.1644
Wattis, James Wattis, Sybil	servant	26.05.1640	10.10.1640	5s a quarter; or £1 p.a.	5.06.1939	
[no name given]	the smith in Broad Street	22.07.1640	22.07.1640	10s for 6 months on composition		

Genealogical Table I. Joyce Jeffreys (male line)

1. Anne, dau of John Walsh of Shelsley Walsh = Henry Jeffreys = 2. Anne, dau of Thomas Barnaby of the Hill, Bockleton and widow of John d. 7 Sept 1583 Coningsby of Neen Sollars. Her third husband was Sir Francis Kettleby of Cotheridge d. Oct 1616.



Genealogical Table III. Sir Thomas Coningsby



Glossary

In constructing the glossary below I have endeavoured to include the meaning of all the words in the manuscript that may prove problematic, whether they are obsolete, obscure or examples of dialect. I have tried to include as many variants of Joyce's spellings as possible, and it would seem useful at this point to comment on her orthography. Although her system of spelling may appear erratic and individualistic when compared with printed examples of the same period, it was not entirely uncharacteristic of early modern writers. Firstly, with regard to consonants, we would expect to find a single consonant instead of a double in such words as *putt*, *usse*, *forgott*, *nuttmeggs*, and *wid-dow*, for example, and entirely the reverse in *aples*, *apointment*, *borowed* and *maner*. But Joyce's unfamiliar use of double and single consonants would not have been an uncommon orthographic practice in her own time. Nor would her mis-matching of consonants, especially the use of *c* and *k* (in *leecks*, *coock* and *reconing*) and that of *d* with *g* (in *dischardge* and *tilladge*); such instances served to increase the strength of the consonant. Joyce reinforced the letter *s* in a similar way by adopting the Middle English form of *sh* in such words as *shuger* (sugar) and *shute* (suit), and there are also frequent occasions in which Joyce switched a *c* for an *s*, and vice versa—see her spelling of *leace*, *cheeces* and *sider*. In addition, though the terminal *e* had been silent since the fourteenth century, its use among Elizabethan writers was still commonplace.¹ Joyce frequently added an *e* where we would not expect to see one, in *fore*, *yeare*, *ore* and *loade*, for instance, while omitting one in such cases as *tru*, *cam*, *purs*, and *hors*.

Secondly, with regard to the use of vowels, as Dawson-Kennedy and Skipton have pointed out, 'vowel interchanges may be found in infinite variety' in the Tudor and Stuart periods.² Like consonants, they tend to appear in either double or single format where in modern English we would expect to see the opposite: in *foorth* (forth) and *doo* (do), for instance, and contrariwise in *boke* (book) and *toke* (took). Vowels appear in a variety of combinations: replacing *u* with *w* for example, is not unusual (*howse*, *accownts*, *bownd* and *dawghter*) and the substitution of *ee* with *ie* or *ei* is also familiar (*beseeye*, *feeld*). Other strange spellings include the interchanging of *e* with *ea*, so that *cleared*, *rearing* and *Easter* appear as *clered*, *rering* and *Ester*, but *here* is

¹ C. Barber, *Early Modern English* (London 1976), 17.

² G. E. Dawson and L. Kennedy-Skipton, *Elizabethan Handwriting 1500–1650: A Guide to the Reading of Documents and Manuscripts* (London, 1966), 17.

replaced with *heare*. Similar patterns of exchange see *o* used in place both of *oa* (*sope*, *cote*) and *ou*, of which the latter is extremely common in Joyce's manuscript: *armor* and *cosin* replace the more modern *armour* and *cousin*, while *ould* stands for *old*, *sould* for *sold* and *coul* for *colt*. Furthermore, whereas in modern usage the letter *y* is used in the middle of a word when it is required phonetically (*mayor* and not *maior*) and always at the end of a word (*easily*), Joyce used *y*, *i* and *ie* interchangeably throughout her writing, regardless of their position. On most occasions the meaning is clear (*kyng*, *lyfe*, *yf*, *tyme*) but occasionally words look more unfamiliar (*dier* for *dyer*, *flaied* for *flayed* and *Julie* for *July*). Consequently, words that do not fit into the broad spelling patterns discussed above or any in which the meaning is not immediately obvious have been explained, either in square brackets in the text, or in the glossary below.

a. of

a more. of more

a (dialect). have; **should a bin putt downe.** should have been put down

abate(d); abating; abatted. abate(d): reduce, deduct, lessen; **abatement of usse.** reduction of use or interest

accers; aker(s). acre(s): parcel of land measuring 4840 square yards

afares. affairs

aforehand. beforehand

against (time). drawing towards, near the beginning of, in preparation for;

against Crestmas. for Christmas; **against the Earl of Leven.** before the arrival of the Earl of Leven

agon; agonn; agonne. ago

ague. ague: acute fever, either hot and sweating or cold and shivering

aiveries. aviary (-ies): a large enclosure or cage for birds

aker.—see **accers**

alderman. alderman: member of the governing body in cities and boroughs, next in importance to the mayor

Alholand(s) church/parish. All Saints' church/parish

Alholan(d)tide; All Hollantide; Allholandtide. Allhollandtide: All Hallows' or All Saints' Tide, the first week in November

al(l)ias. alias: also known as; otherwise

All Saints' Tide.—see **Alholandtide**

allam. alum: astringent mineral salt used in dying, tawing (preparation of white leather) sizing and medicine

almes man. alms man: man in receipt of alms, charity

al(l)mina(c)k(e). almanac: annual table or book of tables containing astrological, astronomical and medical information and including dates for fairs and markets, etc.

- ambler.** ambler: an ambling horse or mule
- an(n)iseed water.** distilled or cordial water made with aniseed
- antidot.** antidote: medicine given to counteract a disease or a poison
- Antwarp.** Antwerp
- anuet(-ies); anuetye(s); anewety; an(n)uit(i)e.** annuity(-ies): annual. grant, income or allowance
- An(n)unciation; Anunciacion.** Annunciation: the Feast of the Annunciation, 25 March, also St Mary's Day, officially the first day of the year until 1752
- anunt (dialect).** anant: opposite
- apeece.** apiece: each, individually, severally
- apern(e)(es)(nes)(s).** apron(s)
- apoticarier; apoticary; apotycari(e)(er); apotycary.** apothecary: preparer and dispenser of drugs and medicines
- apurtinances.** appurtenances: minor rights or privileges that belong to a property, and are transferred with it
- aquavite; aquavity.** aqua-vitae: strong spirit, such as brandy
- aquittance; aquittans.** acquittance: a release in writing from an obligation
- arainment.** arraignment: an interrogation; in law an indictment before a tribunal
- arere(ges)(s).** arrear(s), arrearage(s): overdue payment
- ashen.** ashen: made of wood from the ash tree; ash coloured (whitish-grey)
- As(s)ises.** Assizes: judicial sessions, presided over by a judge
- assay.** assay: try
- Assension Day.** Ascension Day: Thursday after Rogation Sunday (fifth Sunday after Easter)
- Assension Eve.** Ascension Eve: Wednesday following Rogation Sunday
- atorney; atur(r)ney.** attorney: person appointed to act for someone else in business and financial matters; professional legal agent practising in the courts of Common Law
- augmentation.** augmentation: increase or addition to
- awgger.** auger: tool for boring holes in wood
- axltreese.** axle-trees: spindles or axles, the fixed wooden bar on which the opposite wheels of a carriage revolve
- baccon.** bacon: cured flesh from a pig
- baies; bay(e)s(e).** baize (fabric): mixed plain weave cloth with a woollen weft, and a lighter warp; **shagge bayes.** shag baize: baize with a loose woven weft and a long nap; **baies of billding.** bays of building (construction): division of a barn or other buildings of c. 15–20 feet in length
- bail(l)if(f)(e); baily(ff)(e); bayliffe.** bailiff: officer of justice under a sheriff; agent or steward of a manor, and collector of its rents

- band.** band: neck band of a collar or shirt; collar or sometimes a ruff
- band pott.** pot with a collar?
- barragon.** barracan, barragan, barragon: a coarse camlet, probably of goat's hair
- barrit.** barrelet: a small barrel or cask
- Bartlemewtide.** Bartholomewtide: the time of remembrance for Bartholomew, the apostle (St Bartholomew's Day, 24 August)
- bast.** bast: flexible inner bark of the lime or linden tree
- bazen; bason.** basin
- bead ale.** bid-ale: charity feast for the aid and benefit of someone in financial distress, at which those invited provide donations
- beare; beere.** beer
- beare (charges).** bear: to carry, support (i.e., to cover charges)
- bedlam-me; bedlam man.** bedlamer or bedlamite: an inmate of bedlam, a madman or lunatic
- bed coard.** bed cord: cord for stretching the sacking of a bed
- beedles.** beadle(s): constable, town crier
- be(e)(o)f(f)e.** beef: ox, cow or bull flesh
- bellipeeces; bellye peeces.** belly-piece(s): part of the dress covering the belly
- bend (of leather).** bend-leather: leather of a 'bend', the thickest leather suitable for soles of boots and shoes
- bery.** berry: chief house of a manor, or the Lord's seat, especially in Herefordshire (c. 1656—Blount)
- betwixt.** betwixt: between
- bever.** beaver; **bever hatt.** beaver hat: felt hat, in which the wool had been pounded in water to transform it into felt
- biing(e).** buying
- bill.** bill (tool): implement for pruning hedges, cutting wood and lopping trees; bill (document): acknowledgment of a debt promising to repay it at a stated time
- billet(ed)(ted)(ing).** billet(ed)(ing): give quarters; lodge
- billets.** billet(s): wood cut to a suitable length for fuel
- bird lyme.** bird-lime: a sticky substance made from the berries or roots of certain trees usually for trapping small birds
- bit and bosses.** bit and bosses: mouthpiece and adjacent parts of a horse's bridle
- blakwatterd (see also—watered).** black watered
- blanketting.** blanketing: a soft plain weave fabric with a short and smooth nap, used for insulating
- bludding.** blooding: letting blood, bleeding
- bodkin.** bodkin: small pointed instrument for piercing holes or fastening up hair

bod(d)y(es); bodies (a pair of). bodice: an undergarment for the upper body with stays, often of whalebone, or a tight fitting outer garment.

boies. boy's or boys

boke(s). book(s)

bond. bond: legal deed binding a person (obligor) to pay a stipulated amount to another party (obligee)

bon(e)lace; bone lace. bone lace: lace made usually from linen thread and ornamented with a leafy or floral design, worked on bone bobbins

bonne setter; bonsetter. bonesetter: person who sets broken or dislocated bones

boords. board(s): long piece of sawn timber, thinner than a plank

boshell(s); bozshell; bushell. bushel(s): unit of capacity containing four pecks, or eight gallons

botomed; botominge; botteming; bottoming. bottomed (-ing): putting a new bottom on

bowcer; burcer. bursar: treasurer of a college

bownd. bound

Brasenose; Brazennose. Brasenose College, Oxford

braune; browne. brawn: boar or swine fattened for the table

brazell. brazil: reddish-brown dye yielded by brazil wood

brazen. brass; **brazen furnes.** brazen furnace: brass oven

bred(e)(s)(es); bredth(s) (of wood). breadth(s): (piece or width)

breking (blocks). breaking up; **breking (horse).** breaking: training, breaking in

bretheren; brethern. brethren: brothers

brimes; brimmes. brims

bringing to (an animal). bringing to: mating with

broache. broach: a pointed rod of wood or iron such as a spit

brod. broad

brought (by an animal). brought: gave birth to

bruer. brewer

bruing. brewing

brusse. brush

buck. buck: male deer

bucking(s). bucking(s): cloth boiled in a lye (alkalised water) of wood ashes as part of the process of bleaching it

buckl(e)s (thatching). buckles: a fastening or strap used by thatchers?

buckram; buckran. buckram: linen or cotton of varying quality, sometimes stiffened with gum or paste

bugle. bugle: tube shaped glass bead, usually black; **bugle band black.** black band ornamented with bugles

burdding peece. birding piece: firearm for shooting birds

burgess. burgess: freeman or citizen of a borough; an elected member of parliament for a borough; a borough official

burying. burying

burning glass. burning glass: concave lens to concentrate the sun's rays and produce combustion

busk. busk: stiffening for the corset; the corset itself

bus(s)tian. bustian: worsted cloth, with a twilled weave

butchard. butcher

but(t)ler. butler: servant in charge of dispensing liquor and managing the wine cellar

button boy. page; boy servant in livery

cabidge. cabbage

cadis. caddis ribbon: worsted binding or tape

cal(l)dron(e). cauldron: large kettle or boiler

cal(l)ico(w); calycow. calico: imported cotton cloth, named after the city of Calicut on the Malabar coast

cal(l)iman(c)(k)o; kalimanco. calamanco: worsted textile woven in a satin or broken twill weave with a bright, and lustrous chequered appearance, dating from around the 1590s

cambrick. cambric: fine white linen originally made in Cambray, Flanders

camellto; camillto. camletee?: camlet cloth transformed by adding a sheen

campis (Latin). campus (plural—campi): field

Candlmas; Kandl(e)mas. Candlemas: Feast of the Purification of the Virgin Mary, 2 February.

Candlemas term. Candlemas term: probably a reference to a sub-session of the Hilary term after Candlemas, the feast itself having been excluded from legal business in the medieval period

cannens; can(n)ons. canons: clergymen who, along with a dean, manage the affairs of a cathedral

cantting. canting: to speak in the whining tones of beggars, i.e., to beg; to speak in the jargon or 'cant' of thieves; to chant, sing

can(n)vas; canves. canvas, canvass: strong, coarse unbleached cloth of hemp or flax

cap(pe) paper. cap-paper: a type of wrapping paper

capers. capers: flower buds of a South European shrub, grown for pickling

capias. writ of capias: writ commanding the officer to arrest the person named

capon(s). capon(s): castrated cock

caria(r)dge; caria(g(d)e; cari(d)ge(s). carriage(s)

carier; caryer. carrier: transporter of goods, porter

car(r)iing(e). carrying

carnasion. carnation: human skin colour; a rosy pink or sometimes deeper crimson colour

carpinder. carpenter

carpit; carpeting. carpet(ing): a thick fabric usually of wool used to cover tables and beds

carter. carter: cart driver

casement. casement: frame or sash for a window

casse. case

castle soap. Castile soap: fine, hard soap made from soda and olive oil

cat(t)(e)l(l)(e). cattle: livestock held as property

caule. caul: a close fitting women's cap; a netted headdress or cap, often richly decorated

chafingdishes. chafing-dish(es): vessel holding burning fuel, a portable grate

chamber pott. chamber pot: bedroom vessel for urine and slops

chamberlaine. chamberlain: attendant of the bedchamber

chamlet(t). camlet: traditional worsted of wool, goat's hair, silk, linen or cotton, or silk in a variety of combinations; **tirky camlet.** camlet from Turkey?

chancell. chancel: eastern part of a church separated by rails or a screen

char(e)cole(s); charcoll. charcoal(s)

chariage; charidge.—see **cariadge**

cheece(s). cheese(s)

cheef(f)(e) rent. chief rent: rent paid by a customary freeholder (whose lands were governed by the customs of the manor but had been granted in free tenure at some point by the lord)

cheesells. chisels

chei(e)r(s). chair(s)

chell. shell: bowl?

chenay. cheyney: woollen or worsted stuff; **phillip and cheney.** Philip and Cheyney: worsted plush fabric made in Norwich from 1622

chikins(e). chickens

church wardin. churchwarden: elected lay official of a parish church

churched; churching(e). churched (-ing): Anglian church ritual celebrating the return to the public sphere of a woman after childbirth

cipher. to perform elementary arithmetic, usually with arabic numbers

clarit wine. claret wine: originally yellowish or light red wine, but from 1600 more generally red wine

clar(c)k(e); clerck. clerk

cleaved; cleve; cle(e)ving. cleave(d) (-ing): separate by splitting or dividing, especially wood

clements boule or bowle. clements bowl: pot carried from house to house on St Clement's Night (November 23) to beg drink with

clered. cleared

cloeth. cloth

cloister. cloister: covered walk in a monastery or college, often round an open quadrangle

closett. closet: private room; side-room for storage

clothier. clothier: person engaged in the cloth trade

clouded; clouded. clouded: with cloud-like markings

coberd. cupboard

cobweb.—see lawn

cock (brass). cock: spout or pipe for regulating the passage of liquid, a tap

cocking. cocking: to put into cocks

cockloft. cock-loft: small, upper loft

cocks (of hay). cock(s): conical heaps (of hay)

cole. coal

coller; collering; culler(d)(ed); cullering. colour(ed), colouring

com to (horses). come to: mate with

comit(t)ant. comitant: accompanying

comitties; comittres; comitty. committee(s): the various committees appointed to run Hereford during the Civil War

commitatus (Latin). comitatus: county, earldom

comodeties. commodities

composicion. composition: a mutual agreement, often as a form of compromise in relation to debts

comunion. communion: administration of the christian sacrament, the Lord's Supper

confectiary. confectionary: confectioner, maker of cakes and sweetmeats

consideracion; consideration (of money). consideration: compensation, reward or remuneration for lending money (cf. toleration)

contrebusion or contribusion(s) (money). contribution money: local tax, often imposed by the military to support forces in the field or prevent plunder

coock maid. cook-maid: female servant employed to assist with the cooking

cordovan. cordovan: made of Cordovan leather

corence; corents. currants

cornelion (ring). cornelian: reddish quartz, used for seals

corviser. corviser (-or): shoemaker

cosen; cosin(s). cousin(s)

costes (of veal). costelet(tes): cutlet, or small cut of meat, usually veal or mutton

cote. coat

cott(s). cot(s): a small building for protection or shelter; **swines cotts.** swine cots: pig-cots; pig shelters

cottened (of fabric). cottoned: having a soft, fluffy nap

- coult(s).** colt(s)
coultsoote; cowlts foote. coltsfoot: weed used in medicine
counsell; cowncell; cownsell. counsel: advice; opinion; judgement
cource; cowrce. coarse
courier (cloth). [no record found]
cowncel(l)(er)(or). councillor: provider of legal advice
coventry blue (thread). Coventry-blue: blue thread, made in Coventry and used for embroidery
coverlet(t)(s). coverlet(s): uppermost bed covering, counterpane
cowcombers; cowcumbers; cucumber. cucumber(s)
cownffett dishes. comfit dishes: sweetmeat dishes
cownters. counters: round pieces of hard material such as metal or ivory used for arithmetical calculation
cowper. cooper: maker of wooden vessels made from staves and hoops, e.g., buckets, tubs
cowping (vessels). cooping: to bind with hoops
coyfes. coif: close fitting hat covering all round the head
crestes. crest: finishing stone for a roof ridge or wall; abbreviation for 'crest-tile': bent tiles used to cover the ridge of a roof
crier (court). crier: court officer that makes announcements and maintains order
cristen(ed)(ing). christen(ed)(ing): initiation into the christian church, baptism
Cristmas. Christmas
crock. crock: metal or earthen ware vessel
crule. crewel: thin worsted yarn with two threads used for tapestry, embroidery, fringing and other decorative items
cruppier. crupper: leather strap buckled to the back of a saddle and passing under the horse's tail to stop it slipping forwards
culler—see collar. colour
cum(me). come
curles; curries. curls: hair curls? **currlings iron.** curling iron
curry comb. curry comb: metal comb for rubbing down or grooming horses
cypress cat. cyprus-cat: cat with dark markings, a tabby
- damask rose.** damask rose: pink or light red rose, supposed to have come originally from Damascus
damsons. damsons: small, dark coloured plums
dawbing. daubing: coating with a layer of plaster, mortar, clay
dawncer; dawncing. dancer (-ing)
day or dey maid. dey-maid: dairy maid
de (Latin). de: of, from

deare. deer

deceased. deceased

delving. delving: digging, especially in preparing land for a crop

demi; demy(e). demi-: half; **one yeare demy.** one and a half years

deseas(s)ed; de(s)ses(s)ed.—see **deceased**

det(t). debt

dettors. debtors

dey maid. see day maid

diching. ditching: making and repairing ditches

dier. dyer: person employed in the dyeing of cloth and other materials

diet(t); diet(t)ed. diet(ed): daily food; obtain(ed) daily food

diing(e). dyeing

dim (*abbrev*). dimidius (-a, -um): half

dimety; dimity(e). dimity: cotton fabric with decorative weave

dissturced; dissturs(s)(ed). disbursed: paid out; expended

dissturs(e)ment(s); disstursmunt. disbursements: money paid out, expended

divers. divers: various, several, sundry

doa (*obso!*). doa: a female deer; female hare or rabbit

dowlace; dowlas. dowlas: loosely spun and woven linen

dram. dram: measure of quantity of one eighth of an ounce

draw (*of animals*). draw: to pull a vehicle or implement

draw well. draw-well: a deep well from which water is drawn with a rope and bucket

draw(e)s (*of wood*). draws: poles felled and drawn from the wood and piled in clusters of one or two dozen

drench(ing). drench(ing): administering a draught of general medicine to an animal

dressing (*horse*). dressing: grooming or rubbing down; treat with a remedy

drin(c)k. drink; beverage; alcohol; **to drink(e).** to buy drink

duble. double

dublett. doublet: close fitting garment with or without sleeves usually worn by men

duch. dutch

duese. dues

durst. dare

dysssturced.—see **dissturced**

eche. each

el(l)ce; ells(e); els(e)(se). else: other; **all comodities ellse.** all other commodities

elicompane. elecampane: perennial plant used in medicine; roots were steeped in wine

ell(e)(s). ell(s): measure of length—English ell equals 45 inches

el(l)ow. yellow

erned. earned

errants. errands

estatute. e'statute: statute or bond

Ester. Easter

et (*Latin*). et: and

extent. extent: writ to recover debts due to the crown

faggot(t)(s). faggots: sticks, twigs and small branches used for fuel

faier; faire. fair: gathering of sellers and buyers of goods, often with entertainment, set down by charter

fairing. fairing: a present given at, or brought from a fair; a gift

fallow. fallow: ploughed land left unsown, to destroy weeds or improve yield

faucets.—see **spiggets and faucets**

fer(r)it(t); ferrett (silk). ferret silk: silk from inferior or damaged cocoons

fesant. pheasant

fetched (*an old debt*). fetched: elicited

fier. fire

fil(l)etts. fillets: head bands of ribbon, string or other material

filletting. filleting: to bind or tie up hair with a fillet

finde to; fownd to (*dialect*) (*a child*). to find: to stand as sponsor to, to answer for a child at baptism

firing. firing: fuel, material for a fire

firkin. firkin: a small cask for liquids or solids measuring a quarter of a barrel

firr tree staffe; firre staves. fir staffs: walking staffs made from fir wood

flag(g)on. flagon: large bottle or vessel for holding wine or other drinking liquid

flaied. flayed: skinned

flanell; flanill(s); flanulls; flanylls. flannel(s): woollen cloth with a tight warp and loose weft, having a smooth soft surface

fla(s)skit(s). flasket(s): small flask; basket

Flaunders. Flanders, Belgium

flax. flax: plant from which linen fibres are extracted

flaxen. flaxen: made from flax

florished. flourished: ornamented or embellished

fludd. flood

footing. footing: making the foot part of socks, boots etc.

forberance. forbearance: abstaining from demanding payment of a debt; here money paid to a creditor, in addition to interest, for allowing the repayment of a loan to be deferred

forrow. furrow: narrow trench made in the earth with a plough

fould. fold: enclosure, often for domesticated animals

fownd to.—see *finde*

frice. frieze: hard, rough woollen cloth with a curly nap formed by circular scrubbing

Friers. Friars: originally a Dominican priory (Blackfriars) outside Widemarsh Gate, but during this period an almshouse

frock. frock: outer garment worn indoors by women and children, consisting of a bodice and skirt

frogge locks. frog lock: specialist type of lock?

frost nailling. frost-nailing: driving nails into a horse's shoes to stop it slipping in icy weather

fuggered. figured: to mark with figures; to embellish or decorate with a pattern (on the loom)

furnes (*dialect*). furnace: a large boiler fixed in brickwork

furniture (*of draught animal*). furniture: harness and trappings

further pasture. further pasture: the pasture situated furthest away (cf. *hither pasture*)

fus(s)tian; fustean. fustian: cloth made of cotton and flax, i.e., with a linen warp and cotton weft; **homes fustian.** [no record found]

fyllett.—see *filletts*

fyllett bredth. fillet breadth: the breadth of a fillet

gaile. gaol, jail

galanes. gallon(s): english measure of capacity consisting of eight pints

galoone. galloon: narrow close woven ribbon or braid of gold, silver or silk for trimming

garner. garner: storehouse for corn, granary

garritt. carrot

gimlet; gymmlet. gimlet: a boring tool

girdle. girdle: belt worn around the waist

girdler. girdler: maker of girdles and belts

girth(s). girth(s): band of leather or cloth around the body of an animal used to secure a pack or saddle

glasier; glazier. glazier: tradesman concerned with the fitting and removal of glass

glover. glover: maker, or seller, of gloves

Go(o)d(d)y. Goody: respectful title usually given to a married woman

Goodman. Goodman: the master of a house or other establishment

Goodwife; Goodwyfe. Goodwife: the mistress of a house or other establishment

gorgets; gorgit(t)s. gorget(s): deep cape-like collar, fastened under the chin, covering the neck and breast

gossip(s); gossiping. gossip(s)(ing): female friend invited to be present at the birth; sponsor for a child

goun(e); gowned); gown(e)(es). gown(s)

grafting. grafting: inserting a shoot from one tree into another

grain(d)g(e) land. grange land: land belonging to a farm held by the church or a manorial lord

gratis. gratis: without charge, cost or payment

graunted. granted

grawnd. grand

greene geese. green geese: young geese

grete. great

groates. groat(s): unit of currency worth 4d, not issued for circulation after 1662

program; grogran. grogram: a cloth made of grogram or grograin yarns, large rounded twists that could be watered to make mohair

guift. gift

gymmlet.—see **gimlet**

haberdasher. haberdasher: dealer in caps and small wares, e.g., tape, ribbons, thread

haifer; heifer; heyfer. heifer: a young cow that has not calved

handcarcher; handchercher; handkarcher(s); han(d)kerchers. handkerchief(s)

hank. hank: a skein of yarn or thread

harper. harper: person who plays a harp

hartichoks (obso). hartichoke(s), hartichough(s): obsolete form of artichoke

hatchet. hatchet: light, small axe

head staule or staulle. head-stall: part of the bridle or halter that fits round the head

hear(e); her(e). hair

hearbage; herba(d)g(e). herbage: herbaceous growth or vegetation covering a large expanse of ground, e.g., pasture

hearing (obso). hearing: obsolete form of herring

heifer.—see **haifer**

hemp. hemp: annual herbaceous plant cultivated for its fibres

heyfer.—see **haifer**

Hillary tearme. Hilary term: one of four law terms (along with Easter, Trinity and Michaelmas) during which time courts were open for business, running from January until Easter

hind (*obso!*). hand: obsolete word for handle

hindes. hind(s): servant, especially agricultural

hit(t) (*pronoun*). it

hither pasture. hither pasture: the pasture situated nearest in distance (cf. further pasture)

hitherto. hitherto: as yet; until now

hogg(e)shed(s); hog(g)shed(s); hogshead(s). hogshead(s): a large cask for liquids, designated in 1423 as 63 old-wine gallons, or 52.5 imperial gallons; in Hereford, a hogshead of cider contained 110 gallons

hol(l)and. holland: linen fabric from the province of Holland in the Netherlands, in a number of varieties

Holimott; Hollyment. Hallmote or Halmote court: court baron; lord of the manor's court

holing. holeing?: to make a hole

Holirood Day; Holirooday; Holiroode Day. Holyrood Day: Rood Day—Festival of the Invention of the Holy Cross, May 3, or Festival of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, September 14

homiley. homily: sermon; religious discourse, especially one with educational intent

hops. hops: ripened cones of the female hop-plant, used for brewing

hors locks. horse locks: shackles for horses feet

hose. hose: leg covering

hott water. strong spirit or liquor

hunny. honey

hurden (*cloth*). harden, herden, hurden: coarse fabric made from hards or hurds

hurds. hurds: the coarser parts of flax and hemp

huswyfes powndes (*of wick yarn*). housewife's pounds: a specific measure of weight

imbrodered; imbrotherd. embroidered

imprimis (*Latin*). first of all; especially

in graine. engrain, ingrain: to dye crimson or scarlet with cochineal; to dye in fast colours

in part of. in part of: in part payment of

in tyme of. in time of: during

inc(k)le; inkle. inkle: linen tape used for a variety of purposes; type of ribbon

increse (*of livestock*). increase: growth in numbers through breeding

indentures. indentures: deed or sealed contract; **paier of indentures**. indentures between two or more parties having two or more copies: originally both copies were written on one piece of parchment which was then cut or torn so that both could be matched at a later date, hence a pair of indentures

indifferently. indifferently: impartially, indiscriminately

ingros(s)ing. engrossing: writing out in legal form

intreted. entreated

irons. irons (*for a bushel*). iron clasps for a bushel container; **irons (*for a smoothing iron or steel*).** iron rods that were heated and inserted into a box-type iron

iron munger. iron monger: seller of ironware and hardware

italiano. Italian cloth?

jack(e). jack: machine for turning the spit when roasting meat or lifting heavy weights

Jack an apes. jackanapes: tame monkey or ape

jeine fustean; jeines fustian. jene fustian, jean: twilled cotton cloth, a type of fustian

jointer; joynture. jointure: provision of property for a wife in the event of her widowhood

journey(s); jurney. journey(s)

jowle (*fish*). jowl, jole: head (and shoulders) of certain fish, such as salmon and sturgeon

joynr. joiner: craftsman in wood, usually undertaking lighter, more ornamental work than a carpenter

Justeses of Peace. Justice(s) of the Peace: local magistrate charged with keeping the peace and other responsibilities

kaies.—see **kay**

kalimanco.—see **calimanco**

Kandl(e)mas.—see **Candlmas**

kay(es); kayse. key(s)

keeper. gamekeeper: servant employed to take care of game and prevent poaching; **nurce keeper.** nurse-keeper: sicknurse

kersey. kersey: coarse woollen cloth, usually ribbed and woven from long wool

killen; killin. kiln; **killen heare.** kiln hair: cloth of hair fabric for a kiln

kings provysion. provision: ordinance for checking the king's autonomy—here a tax granted to the king by Parliament

kirtle(s). kirtle(s): a gown; a skirt or outer petticoat

knott (*garden*). knot: intricately designed flowerbed, or laid out garden plot; **knotts (*ribbon*).** knots: decorative knots of ribbon

Lady Day. Lady Day: a day kept to celebrate some event in the life of Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, so Conception (December 8), Assumption (August 15), Nativity (September 8), or Annunciation (March 25)

Lam(m)as. Lammas: ancient festival of ripening corn (Lammas Day, 1 August)

- lambative.** lambitive: medicine taken by licking, often with a liquorice stick
- lanthorn.** lantern
- lap(pe).** lap: to wrap or fold in
- lasing; lased.** lacing; laced
- lathes.** lathe(s): supporting structure, a stand?
- lawn(d)(e); lawne.** lawn: fine linen resembling cambric; **cobweb(b) lawne.** cobweb
lawn: a very fine transparent lawn
- leace.** lease: contract conveying land between parties for a stated period of time, usually for a fee or rent
- leaps.** leaps: matings
- lecter.** lecture
- leefftenant.** lieutenant: officer next in rank to a captain
- lemmster ore.** Lemster (Leominster) ore: a fine carding wool from the Ryland sheep in the Vales of Hereford
- lewne.** loan
- lewsing.** loosening
- licker.** liquor: fluid; **goosse licker.** goose grease or oil for lubrication; **soft licker.** soft grease?
- lickeres; licorass.** liquorice
- lights (offal).** lights: lungs of an animal cooked as food
- linen; linin.** linen: cloth woven from flax; items made from linen
- linge pinnes.** lynch-pin(s): pin passing through the axletree to hold the wheel in place
- livery saddles.** saddles in livery colours and designs
- liver(e)y; liveries.** livery(s): suit of clothes or uniform for employees
- loaff(e); lof(f)e(s).** loaf (-ves)
- loine.** loin: joint of meat cut from the lower part of the back
- loke money.** look for money
- loked work.** looked for work
- lokes.** locks
- lokinge to.** looking to: looking after, tending or nursing
- lolnding.** lulling?: soothing with sounds or caresses
- long (adverbial phrase).** for a long time
- long iron.** land-iron?: andiron or firedog, an iron bar used to support burning wood
- loope lace.** loop-lace: lace patterns worked with a needle on a fine net
- lordship.** lordship: land belonging to a lord
- lotting.** lotting: sorting into lots or sections
- lowp.** loop
- Lowsonday.** Low Sunday: Sunday next after Easter
- lugges.** lugs: rods for thatching
- Lukes Day.** St Luke's Day: 18 October, a customary day for paying accounts

mab(b)(es)(s). mab(s): mop

mace. mace: dried outer part of the nutmeg

Maiar; maier; maior(e). mayor: chief office-holder of a city or borough corporation

mainchettes; manchet(e). manchet(s): the best wheaten bread

make even. make even: to clear the account between the two parties

marchant. merchant

maria(d)g(e). marriage

married. married

mark(e)s (money). mark(s): money of account in which one mark equals 13s 4d

mason. mason: person working in stone

math. a mowing; **after math.** after-math: second mowing of the grass that has grown after the early summer mowing; **later math.** later-math, lattermath: the later mowing, or aftermath

mault(e). malt: grain prepared for brewing or distilling; **barley mault.** barley prepared for brewing or distilling

maultsive. malt sieve

meale. meal: edible part of a pulse or grain ground into a powder

medley (cloth). medley: cloth woven of mixed colours

melted her greace. to melt one's grease: to exhaust one's strength through excessive effort

mem(i)randon. memorandum: a note to aid memory, or to remind the writer of a certain event

mercier. mercier: dealer in textile fabrics, especially those of high quality

metheglin. metheglin: spiced or medicated mead, originally peculiar to Wales

Micha(e)l(l)mas; Mickaellmas(s); Mi(c)klmas. Michaelmas: Feast of St Michael, Michaelmas Day, St Michael and all Angels, 29 September

mid(d)somer. midsummer: June 21, the period of the summer solstice

millard (dialect). millud: miller

millian; million. Milan: fabric from Milan in Lombardy; **bare millian or million.** bare Milan: Milan fabric with a short nap or no nap, or threadbare

millner. miller

millons. melon(s): any kind of edible gourd; pumpkin

mingled (cloth). mingled: cloth woven in mixed colours

mittins. mittens: coverings for the hands with separate parts for the thumbs

moety. moiety: a half; one of two parts into which something has been divided

mohere. mohair: fabric made from goat's hair alone, or twisted with jersey, worsted, silk or linen

mon(e)(n)th(es)(s); munths. month(s)

moorne; moorhing(e). mourn(ing)

more. moreover

morgage. mortgage: conveyance of real estate to a creditor as security for a cash debt

morow. morrow: the following day

morter. mortar: sand and lime mixed with water used to bind bricks or stone (adding hair made a type of plasterer's cement)

mow (*noun*). mow: stack of hay, grain, corn, beans, peas etc.

muffe. muffle: a cylindrical covering for both hands, used by men and women

mus(s)cadin(e); muscudine. muscadine-wine: muscatel, a strong, sweet wine made from muscat grapes

muscovy(e) (duck). musk-duck: domesticated, South American duck, mistakenly called the Muscovy or Barbary duck

musk. musk: reddish brown substance secreted by the male musk-deer

musskit(t). musket: hand gun

mut(t)onn(e); mutons. mutton: sheep carcass or sheep flesh; sheep intended for consumption

nagg(e). nag: a small riding horse or pony

naile. nail: a measure of length for cloth of 2.25 inches or a sixteenth of a yard

naught. naught: of a bad condition or poor quality; of no worth or value

neeldes (dialect). nilds: obscure dialect form of needles

neett or neette pinnes. net-pins: pins used in net making

new derectory. Directory for Public Worship: church liturgy introduced in 1645

nunnes thrid. nun's thread: fine, white sewing cotton, as used by nuns

nurce; nurse. nurse: woman employed to suckle or more generally attend to young children

nurce keeper.—see **keeper**

nursed. nursed: suckled; cared for

nuse. news

nuttme(e)ggs. nutmegs: spice from the East Indies; **case nuttmeggs.** case nutmegs: a type of nutmeg used in cookery and medicine?

ob (abbrev). obolus: a half penny

oliffe(s). olive(s); **oliffe culler.** olive colour: dull yellow-green colour

os(s)tler. ostler: stableman or groom at an inn

otes. oats

ounce(s). ounce(s): unit of weight of one sixteenth of a pound

overseer(e)(s) for the poor. overseer(s) for the poor: parish officer appointed annually to administer poor relief

packsaddle. packsaddle: saddle adapted for the carrying of packs

packthrid. packthread: stout thread or twine used for tying up bundles or packs

pads. pad(s): soft stuffed saddle; basket or pannier

paier; paire. pair

paiing. paying

paiment(s). payments

Pallas; Pallice. Bishop's Palace, Hereford

pal(l)e(s). pale(s): stake, used especially for fencing; a fence

paler. paler: person who erects a paling or fence

pallsey. palsy: impairment of muscles or sensation; paralysis

pamflet(t)s; pamphilletts. pamphlets

pane (saffron). pane: plot or section of more or less rectangular-shaped ground for cultivation

parchment. parchment: animal skin, dressed and prepared for writing

parler. parlour

parochia (Latin). parish

Parris. Paris, France

parshare waggon. Pershore wagon: the wagon from Pershore?

parson(n). parson: beneficed clergyman

past boord; paste-boorde. paste board: board made from sheets of paper that have been stuck, compressed and rolled together

pasty. pasty: meat pie

pealls (bells). peal(s): the ringing of a set of bells; changes rung on a set of bells, sometimes lasting several hours

peck(e). peck: a unit of measurement of dry goods equal to a quarter of a bushel or 2 gallons

pecking. pecking: to indent or mark

peell (of hay). pile? of hay

peres. pears

perfumer. perfumer: person employed to perfume rooms; person engaged in making or selling perfumes

perpetian. perpetuana: a light, smooth, finished woollen serge

pese. peas

pewterer. pewterer: maker of pewter goods

philletting.—see filletting

phiseck; phis(s)i(c)k; physic. physic: medicine, medical treatment or regimen

phisision. physician: academically trained doctor qualified to practice medicine

piche. pitch; **burggin piche** or **pitch.** burgundy pitch?: resinous juice of the spruce fir

pigi(o)ns. pigeons

pikevells. pike weels?: wicker traps for catching pike, or baskets for holding them in

pilles. pills

pin(in)es; pinmes; pinn(i)es; pinns. pins

pinked. pinked: cut or perforated in a pattern for ornamentation

pip(p)in(s). pipkin(s): small pot or pan used mainly in cookery

plaiers. players: musicians, performers

plaistering. plastering

plating (*saddle*). plaiting: to interweave or gather in folds

plock(s). plack(s)?: small plot of ground; small amount of anything plock(s)?: wood, log

plow(ing); plowinge forrow. plough, plow(ing)

plowe tymber. plough timber: timber for the plough

plumbes. plums

plump (*obsof*). plump: obsolete form of pump

pluss. plush: fabric with a longer and softer nap than velvet

pocket(t)(ts); pockitts; poketts. pocket(s): small pouch or bag worn on the person

point(e)s; poynts. point(s): a tagged cord or lace used as fastenings in place of buttons; **thridden pointes.** thread points

polonia; polony. Polonia: Poland, polish

pomatom. pomatum: pomade, more commonly a scented ointment applied to the skin (f. 61?), but also a cider drink made from apples (f. 40v?).

ponne. pond

porcion; porsion; portion. portion: share of family goods given to a child on adulthood or at marriage

pore. poor

poringe. porridge: pottage or soup

por(c)k(es). pork(s): swine, pig or a hog

pos(s)net(t)(s). posnet(s): small metal pot for boiling with a handle and three feet

post fine. post fine: duty paid to the Crown for the licence to levy a fine

potingers. pottinger(s): metal, wood or earthenware vessel for liquid or semi-liquid food; porringer

potle. pottle: a measure of quantity for liquids and dry goods equal to two quarts or half a gallon

poulce; powice. pulse: edible seeds of leguminous plants such as peas, beans and lentils

powder blue. powder-blue: powdered smalt (pulverised blue glass), especially for laundry use

powle (*money*). poll; poll tax

powle davy(e). poldavy: coarse canvas or sacking

powles. poles; **standard powles.** standard poles: upright timbers or scaffold poles; tall poles erected for display during celebrations

pownd (livestock). pound: enclosure retained by local authority to detain livestock found straying or trespassing, and for keeping livestock seized for non-payment of debt etc., until redeemed

pownd(e)(s). pound (sterling): unit of currency of 20 shillings (240d); pound (avoirdupois): unit of weight of 16 ounces; Britten claims in Hereford and Gloucester the unit could be 18 ounces.

precher(s). preacher

preching(e). preaching

prentis. apprentice

prises. prices; **pigges at 20s price.** pigs costing 20s

prosses. process: formal commencement or proceedings of an action at law

provinder. provender: food and provisions, especially fodder for horses

proving (document). proving: establishing the validity of

prunelo. prunella: a strong fabric, originally silk and then worsted, often used for the gowns of barristers or graduates, or the uppers of ladies' boots and shoes

pulce—see poulce

pultry. poultry

purce; purs. purse

purslane. purslane: herb, sometimes a pot-herb, used in salads

putt foorth. put forth: to place the money with an individual or institution for the purposes of increasing its value; to layout money for profit

quininge. quoining?: to secure or raise with a quoin or wedge; to provide with quoins or corners

quarrill. quarry

quart(e)(es). quart(s): unit of capacity of 2 pints

quier. choir

quier(s); quyer (of paper). quire(s): 24 (or 25) sheets of paper

quinces. quinces: hard, pear-shaped fruit of a small tree, used to preserve and flavour

quishi(o)ns. cushions

raced; recev(v)ed. received; **rece by.** received by way of, or from

raine(s). rein(s): long narrow strap attached to the bridle

rash. rash: a smooth fabric made of silk or worsted, with a say warp

rawle (and pin). roll: roller

ream. ream: a quantity of paper, properly 20 quires or 480 sheets

reasings—see also resings. raisins

rece (*abbrev.*).—see **raceved**

receight(s); receyghts; reseight(s). receipts: amounts of sums received

reconed; reconing. reckoned (-ing)

redy. ready

redy money. ready money: cash

relacon. relation

removes. remove(s): the act of removing an old horse shoe

renued. renewed

rep(e)rasion(s); rep(e)racion. reparation(s): repair

rering. rearing: raising to maturity

resedue. residue

resings of the sonne; resings solis or sollis. raisins, especially those from Spain

reson. reason

rewed. rewed: marked with stripes or lines

riband(s). ribbon(s)

ribanding. ribboning

rick (of hay). rick: constructed stack of hay

ridle. riddle: sieve with a coarse mesh

roane; rone. roan: colour in which the predominant shade is interspersed with others

rosen. rosin or resin: solid residue of distilled crude turpentine

rowle. roll: padded support for a gown or petticoat worn round the waist; a round pad of hair or other material used as part of a headdress; **bumme rowle**. bum roll: also known as a 'roll farthingale', and similar to first definition above

ruff(e)(es). ruff(s): decorative neckware usually of starched muslin or linen;

ruffe beeffe. rough beef

ruffstocks. ruff stock(s): stiff band for a ruff

sack(e). sack: general name for white wines imported from the Canaries and Spain

sackcloth. sackcloth: coarse fabric used for sacks or bags

sadler. saddler: maker or dealer in saddles and saddlery

saf(f)ern. saffron: dried crocus stigmas

safgard. safe-guard: outer skirt worn by women to protect their clothes when riding

saieth. sayeth

salemon; samonne. salmon

salit(ts). sallet(s): salad

salit oyle. salit oil: oil made of olives

salt peeter. saltpetre: potassium nitrate—chief constituent of gunpowder and used medicinally; **salt peeter men.** saltpetre men: men appointed to find saltpetre for making gunpowder

sarc(e)net(t). sarcenet, sarsenet: very fine soft silk material

satin. satin: silk fabric with a glossy front surface, in which the warp almost completely covers the weft

saw pitt. saw pit: pit over which a frame was erected to support timber being sawn with a long handled saw by two men, one in the pit and one above it

sawcers. saucers: deep plates or dishes, used for sauce or condiments, and more generally as receptacles

sawiers; sawyers. sawyer(s): workman involved in sawing timber, especially in a saw-pit

say. say: fine cloth resembling serge, usually of wool

scabbling (tiles). scabbling: the rough dressing of stone, or as here, tiles

scol(l)er(s). scholar

score. score: a set or group of twenty; debt

scotch or scots cloth. scotch cloth: fabric resembling lawn but cheaper, said to have been made of nettle fibres

scoops. scoops: ladles or shovels; baskets

scouring. scouring (watering place): clearing and cleansing; scouring (fabric): removing dirt and grease using some detergent process

scracses. scratches: a disease of the feet in horses, in which the pastern (between the fetlock and the hoof) appears as if scratched

scrivener. scrivener: scribe, clerk or copyist

search. searce: a sieve or a strainer

seasoned upon. seised upon: seized upon

second bred. wheaten bread of second quality, baked from flour more coarsely sifted than that for best quality bread

seednes. seedness: seedtime; **seednes or sidnes cake.** seednes cake: cake for seedtime, here offered in November and December

segge (dialect). segge: obscure or dialect form of sedge, a coarse grassy rush-like plant

seid. said

seling. sealing

seller. cellar

seme. seam

ser(d)ge. serge: single warp fabric made of silk, silk and wool, wool and linen, or wool

servitaw; servitor(s); serviter. servitor: man-servant, caretaker or assistant; officer in certain institutions

sesstern. cistern: may have been used in a well-appointed dining room for washing dishes, or more generally to store water or other liquid

sett foorth or fourth.—see **putt foorth**

sexton. sexton: church officer responsible in the main for the ringing of the bells and digging graves

shellboards. shield-boards: strong board on the right side of the plough

sher(e)s. shears

shethe. sheath

ship. sheep

shipp. ship; **ship(p)ing money.** ship money: ancient war-time tax to provide ships for the king's service

Shore Thursday. Sheer Thursday: Maundy Thursday, the Thursday in Holy Week

shote. shoot

Shroff Sunday. Shrove Sunday: Quinquagesima or Shrove Sunday, the last Sunday before Lent

Shroftide. Shrovetide: Shrove Sunday, Shrove Monday and Shrove Tuesday

shuerty (-ies). surety: a formal pledge to undertake the completion of a task, to provide security for an undertaking

shugar; shug(g)er(r). sugar; **peece shuger.** lumps of sugar? **powder shuger.** pulverized or ground sugar; **shug(g)er(r) lo(a)f(f)e(s).** sugar loaf (-ves): conical moulded lump of hard refined sugar

shuing(e). shoeing; **shuing(e) ... rownd.** attaching or replacing all four horse shoes

shumaker. shoemaker

shuse. shoes

shut(t)e(s). suite(s): either of clothes, or in law; **law shute.** law suit: prosecution of a claim in a court of law; **shute of buckles.** suit of buckles: set or series of buckles

sidnes cake.—see **seednes cake**

sift; sive(s). sieve(s)

sill. sill: strong, horizontal timber

silven. silver

simbills. cymbals?

simnill. simnel: bread or cake made with white flour and sometimes fruit, eaten in mid-Lent or Mothering Sunday in some areas

Simon and Jude Day. St Simon and St Jude's Day, 28 October

sinamond. cinnamon: East Indian spice having restorative and carminative properties

sipers. cypress: fabric imported originally from or through Cyprus; **silk sipers.** silk cypress

size. size (magnitude): dimensions of an item; size (substance): glutinous substance used to dress or prepare a range of materials

sisters thrid. sisters thread: fine sewing thread

sithe. scythe: agricultural tool for mowing crops or grass

sithence. sithence: since then

sive(s).—see **sift**

skaine. skein: quantity of thread or yarn; of cotton equal to 80 turns on a 54 inch reel, usually tied in a loose knot

skarlet(t). scarlet: a woollen puke cloth of vivid red colour; **bastard skarlet(t).** bastard scarlet: inferior scarlet

skellit. skillet: metal cooking utensil, usually with feet and a long handle

skinins; skinm(es); skinne(s); skinn(i)s. skin(s)

slived silk. slived or sleaved silk: silk divided by separation into filaments

smale. small

smock(e)(s). smock(s): female undergarment; shift

smo(o)thing iron or steel(l)e. smoothing-iron: probably a box-type iron designed to accept heated rods, but can also refer to a flat iron

snaffle. snaffle: simple bridle bit

soine. essoin: court excuse or exemption; **soine peny.** essoin penny?: cost of exemption

sojorn. sojourn: to stay temporarily, to lodge

som(m)(e); sum. sum: sum total of amounts; some

somer. summer

sope. soap

sorrel. sorrel: of a bright chestnut or red-brown colour

sowsing fish. soused fish: pickled fish

spar(r)ow bills. sparrow bills: small amounts owing

spend. spend: expend, use

spiggets and faucets. spigot(s) and faucet(s): old type of tap consisting of a spigot—a tapered tube—the narrow end of which was inserted into the barrel, and a faucet—a wooden plug or screw used to close the other end

spincter. spinster: a legal term for woman as yet unmarried

spittle. spittle: small spade

spring tree. swingle tree?: pivoted crossbar for a carriage

squared; squaring (timber). squared (-ing): timber made square or rectangular in cross section

St James tide. St James' tide, 25 July

St Mari or Mary Day.—see **Annunciation**

St Markes Day. St Mark's Day, 25 April

St Martins de Campis. St Martin's in the Fields, London

staies. stays: laced underbodice stiffened with whalebone, originally in two pieces that were laced together

stamell; stamill. stammel: a coarse woollen cloth or linsey woolsey, usually dyed red

stand bownd. stand bound: to be bound in law to perform an undertaking, here to provide surety for a debt

stat(t)ute debt. statute debt: debt guaranteed by statute, usually statute merchant or statute staple.

statute lace. statute lace: type of lace regulated by statute

staul(l)e.—see **head staule**

steele. steel: any steel instrument such as a weapon, a flat iron, or a knife sharpener

steeres. steers: young oxen, especially those that have been castrated

stipering up (*obso.*). stiper: a prop; stipering: to prop up

stock(e); stok. stock (money): amount of cash held as capital; stock (garment): band for a shirt or ruff

stominger. stomacher: an ornamental covering for the chest

ston(n)e (*weight*). stone: measure of weight of 14 pòunds avoirdupois; in Hereford a stone of hemp weighed 12 pounds

stoned (*male horse*). stoned: not castrated

store swine. store-swine: pigs kept for breeding as part of the stock of the farm; lean pigs for fattening

Stranne. Strand, London

streinthen. strengthen

stript (*tiffany*). striped: having stripes

stuard. steward: person who manages an estate on behalf of his employer

stuff(e) (*fabric*). stuff: woven textile fabric

sturgion. sturgeon: large fish found in coastal and river waters

subberb. suburb: residential area outside the walls of a town or city

surety.—see **shuerty**

sug(g)er.—see **shugar**

supt. supped: ate supper

surrender. surrender: relinquish possession of

surjon(s). surgeon(s)

sussingle(s). surcingle(s): girth for horse or other animal

sweetmetes. sweetmeats: sweet foods such as confectionary, candied or sugared foods

tabee(ne); taby(e). tabby: silk taffeta

table (*f.52v*). supply of food

tafetey; tafety(e); taf(f)itey; tafity(e). taffeta: plain woven fabric stiffened with extra weft threads

tailers silk. tailor's silk: tailor's silk thread

tallow. tallow: animal fat separated by melting and clarifying, and used for soap, candles, dressing leather etc.

- tamelletto; tamil(l)etto.** tammy cloth, hot-pressed to give a glossy finish?
- tamma; tammar.** tammy: cloth woven of yarn shrunk and smoothed by scouring
- tanner.** tanner: person who tans hides to make leather
- tassis.** tassess: plates of armour to protect the lower trunk and thighs
- tawny.** tawny: brown colour in a variety of shades; composite colour of brown with orange or yellow
- teare.** tear: finest quality fibres, often referring to hemp or flax
- teith.** tithe: tenth part of the annual produce of land due to the church
- telling (money).** telling: counting or numbering
- tenter hoocks.** tenterhook(s): hooks to hold cloth in place on a tenter, or stretcher, after it has been treated; a metal hook for any purpose
- thacke.** thatch
- theef(f)(es).** thief (-ves)
- thence.** thence: from there, from that place
- thither.** thither: towards that place; there
- thrastle(s).** throstle(s): thrush, especially a song-thrush
- thrave(s).** thrave, threave: measure of straw or fodder, often 2 stooks with 12 sheaves in each, but which varies by locality
- threefollwing—see also twy fallowing.** thryfallowing or tryfallowing: ploughing or fallowing the land a third time (recommended by Tusser in July)
- thrid.** thread
- throshing.** threshing: separating grain from the straw by beating
- thrumb; thrumme(s).** thrum(s): waste thread or yarn; **thrumb mabb; thrumme mabbs or mabbes.** thrum mab(s): mop of waste thread or yarn
- tick (bed).** tick: mattress covering
- tif(f)any; tyfany.** tiffany: a thin transparent silk gauze with a flowered pattern
- til(l)a(d)ge.** tillage: tilled or ploughed land, suitable for arable cultivation
- ting(e); tyning.** tining: enclosing, fencing or hedging, including repairing, especially a new hedge with dead thorns
- tinker; tynker.** tinker: mender of kettles, pots and other household items
- tinsell riband.** tinsel ribbon: ribbon interwoven with gold or silver thread to make it sparkle
- tirk(e)y; tirki; turky.** turkey (adjective): from Turkey, turkish; turkey (noun): a turkey
- to halfes.** to halves: so as to have a half share in the profits
- toke.** took
- toleraation; tol(l)eration; toleration (debt).** toleration: the cost of tolerating the non-payment of a debt (in addition to interest), forbearance
- toule.** toll
- trace of onions.** string of onions

treacle. treacle: medicinal compound, with a number of ingredients, used as a general antidote to poisons and malignant illnesses

trenchers. trencher(s): plate of wood, earthenware or metal

triminge (horse). trimming: decorating?

trisells. trestles

troubles. troubles

truckl bed. truckle-bed: low bed on castors or truckles, often pushed under a higher bed during the day

tuffe. tuftaffeta?: fabric with tufts of yarn or silk that had silk mixed with it

tufftes. tufts: clusters of fabric gathered at the base

tunne. ton (capacity): measure of timber of 40 or 50 cubic feet; ton (weight): 20 hundredweight (cwt), or 2240 pounds

turfes. turf(s): sod or slab of grass, cut from the surface of the soil

turning the pace (horse). part of the training process when breaking in a horse

Twelf Eve. Twelfth Eve: the evening before Twelfth Day (Epiphany, 6 January)

twelvemonth; twelv or twelve month. twelvemonth: a twelve-month period, a year; **untill this tyme twelvemonth.** until a year from now

twiggen; twiggin. twiggen: made of twigs or wickerwork

twilly. twilled: having ridges or diagonal lines on the surface; **twilly wise.** twilled style

twister. twisted thread

twy fallowing; twyfoling—see also **threefolwing.** twyfallowing: ploughing or fallowing a second time after the first ploughing in April

tyfany.—see **tifany**

tyning.—see **tinig**

tynker.—see **tinker**

undersheriff. undersheriff: deputy or subordinate to the sheriff, the royal representative in the shires, with responsibility for the execution of the law

upsitting. upsitting: the first occasion a woman receives visitors after giving birth

urinall. urinal: glass vessel used to receive urine for the purposes of inspection; a chamber pot

us(s)(e). use: premium on money lent; interest; **usse moneys.** use monies: moneys gained through lending

valence. valance: a drapery border hanging from the bed canopy

val(l)et(t) wood. cleaned or prepared wood?

valleys (with axletrees). part of the axle mechanism on a carriage

vate. vat

vele. veal: flesh of a calf for consumption

verdigrece. verdigris: green/blue substance used as a pigment and for medicine

verser. verser: written in verse; **moorning verser.** mourning verses

vi(c)ker; vickkr. vicar: priest; **vicker of the quier.** vicar choral: cathedral officer or priest appointed to sing part of the services

vide(licet) (Latin). namely; that is to say

viling. filing

vint(n)er. vintner: wine merchant, or innkeeper selling wine

vittails; vit(te)les. victuals: food, provisions

wad[?] **wicks.** wad wicks?: wicks made from matted silk or cotton fibres rather than tow or flax?

waights. weights

waiing(e); weiing. weighing

waine(s). wain(s): large open vehicle drawn by oxen or horses

wainscot. wainscot: oak boarding, used mostly for panels

wait(e)(s). wait(s): one who waits in attendance; a musician

walker. walker: a fuller of cloth; one who treads and beats cloth in order to thicken and clean it

walchman. welshman

wallet. wallet: bag for holding provisions

walsh. welsh

want(t)ed; want(ing). want(ed)(ing): lacking, missing, deficient; **wanting one month.** one month missing

wardins. wardens: old variety of baking pear

ware. wore

warming pan(ne). warming-pan: long-handled covered metal pan containing hot coals, for warming beds

warp. warp: lengthwise threads in the loom, usually twisted harder than the crosswise weft or woof

wash beetle. wash-beetle: a wooden mallet for beating clothes during the washing process

wassell. wassail: spiced ale drunk at Christmas and New Year celebrations

wat(t)ched. watchet: light blue cloth, or light blue in colour; **watched blue silk.** light blue silk; **wattched tafetey.** light blue taffeta

watered. watered: having a wavy damask-like pattern from being sprinkled with water and passed through a calender (machine that presses cloth under rollers); **blakwatterd.** black watered

watter cowrse. watercourse: stream; artificial channel for water

weather, wether (livestock). wether: male sheep, especially a castrated ram

wedges. wedge(s): tapered piece of wood or other material, used for cleaving or splitting wood or stone

weing.—see **waiing**

wench(e). wench: young woman; maid; girl

whal(e)bon(e). whalebone

whay (medicinal). whey: the serum or watery part of the milk, to which was added a variety of ingredients for medicinal purposes

wheeler. wheelwright: maker of wheels and wheeled vehicles

whelp. whelp: young dog, puppy

whett stonne. whetstone: stone used to give a smooth edge to cutting tools once they have been ground

whit(t)ed. whited: whitened

whiting. whiting: whitewash

whit(t)(e)meat; whitmete. whitemeat: dairy produce such as cheese and milk, and sometimes eggs

Whitson Day or Monday; Whitsontide; Whit(t)son Eve. Whitsuntide: the season of Whit Sunday—a Christian festival celebrated on the seventh Sunday after Easter—and the following days

whood; whoode. hood

whooper. hooper: a craftsman that makes and fits hoops for barrels, etc.; a cooper

whoop(pe)s. hoops

who(o)p(p)ing. hooping: making hoops

wier. wire

winter. winter: to pass the winter; to provide food and shelter during the winter

with out. without: lacking, outside; **with out Widmarsh Gate.** outside Widmarsh Gate

withies; withy. withy (-ies): willow

wodcox; woodcocks. woodcock(s): migratory bird highly regarded as a food

wodden. wooden

woof. woof: threads that cross the web of material from side to side, also known as the weft

woonts. want(s): mole; **woont hil(l)ocks.** mole hills

wosted; wo(o)s(s)tid. worsted: fabric made from twisting long-staple wool combed to lay the fibres parallel

worts. worts: general name for any plants of the cabbage family; plants, vegetables or herbs used for culinary and medicinal purposes

Yeark shere. Yorkshire

yeard(des)(e)(s); yerd. yard(s): measuring rod of 3 feet (36 inches) in length

yeat. yeat or yat: gate

yeock. yoke

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Indexes

In addition to Joyce's lists of receipts and disbursements, the indexes cover the Editorial method and commentary, Introduction and Joyce's will, including deletions. The main body and footnotes of the text have been indexed firstly by personal names, secondly by place names and finally by subject. There may be more than one reference on each page.

1. Index of Personal Names

All historical personal names in the text and footnotes have been indexed. The names appear with their variants and any occupational or status designations that were appended to them. Please note that individuals may not have held all their designated titles for the entire duration of the accounts. Because of the sparseness of information that survives for any one person, separate biographies for individuals named in the accounts have not been provided. However, basic biographical details, where available, have been included, although Joyce was not always consistent in her use of familial descriptors (using 'nephew' for some of her great nephews, for example). An attempt has been made to try to differentiate between individuals sharing the same name, and to collect together under a single entry persons the accounts indicate are likely to have been the same individual; where identification is unclear a separate entry has been added. Readers are nevertheless advised to exercise a degree of caution when making their searches, and check all similar entries, since Joyce appears on some occasions to have been forgetful about forenames.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE BRITISH ACADEMY
BY OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS



ISBN 978-0-19-726432-4

